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BEAUTIES
OF THE
HON. DANIEL WEBSTER.



Opinions of the New York Press on the first edition of this Work.

Beauties of Daniel Webster.—"A handsome little volume of 92 pages bearing this title, containing judiciously selected extracts from the speeches, addresses, &c., of that distinguished gentleman. The work is edited by James Rees, who has added a Critical Essay on the genius and writings of Mr. Webster. Mr. Rees has discharged both duties well and ably, and we wish the book might go into the hands of every person capable of reading, from New Brunswick to Texas."—*New York Gazette.*

"This is the title of a neat little work, prepared with much care by Mr. James Rees. The selections are judiciously made and admirably arranged. Mr. Webster is one of the great men of the country never at a loss for words, powerful in argument, fascinating and beautiful as an orator. The critical essay is enthusiastic, eloquent, and truthful. The work will meet with an extensive sale.—*N. Y. Whig.*

"Most appropriately is this beautiful and precious little volume dedicated to 'the friends of Liberty throughout the world, and to the admirers of the English language in its purity.'

"We rejoice, therefore, that selections, so tastefully made as those in this volume, have been put forth in a shape and form to give them wide circulation among all classes; for the extracts are such as no American, of whatever party, can fail to admire.

"We commend these Beauties to all our readers."—*N. Y. American.*

"The passages are selected with judgment and good taste, presenting a rare assemblage of noble thoughts, clothed in surpassing eloquence of language. We are glad to see that the Editor has been careful not to omit that magnificent outburst of patriotism, the conclusion of the great speech in answer to Mr. Hayne on Nullification."—*New York Commercial Advertiser.*

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THE THIRD AMERICAN EDITION OF
MY NIECE;
OR,
THE STRANGER'S GRAVE.

Opinions of the Press.

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“ ‘Reader, I have told thee a tale of no ordinary wo ; but it has a moral in it. Whatever thou mayest be, or however situated, guard well the first avenues which lead to sin ; for, if one false step be taken, thou canst not tell of how many evils it may be the prelude.’ ”—*N. Y. Literary Gazette*.

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Yours, with entire regard,
David Wolcott

E. Walker, N. York.

THE
BEAUTIES
OF THE
HON. DANIEL WEBSTER;
SELECTED AND ARRANGED.

WITH A
CRITICAL ESSAY
ON
HIS GENIUS AND WRITINGS.

BY JAMES REES.

SECOND EDITION,

WITH A PORTRAIT, AND CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS.

NEW YORK:
EDWARD WALKER,
No. 112 Fulton-street.

1839.

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TO THE
FRIENDS OF LIBERTY
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD,
AND TO THE
ADMIRERS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE
IN ITS PURITY,
THE FOLLOWING SELECTIONS
FROM THE WORKS OF
THE HON. DANIEL WEBSTER,
ARE RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,
BY THE EDITOR.

New York, April, 1839.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE first Edition of this work, it will be remembered, appeared in a small form, and notwithstanding the errors which had unavoidably crept into it, it was received with much favor by the public, and met with much commendation from the Press. The original intention of the Editor, was to present a work containing the majority of the splendid passages of Mr. Webster's speeches; but, circumstances over which he had no control, prevented the fulfilment of that intention. A new edition of the work having been called for, the present publisher procured the services of Mr. Rees, with a view to publish the entire work as originally contemplated by him. The success of the undertaking will be determined

by the public. Of the value of the contents of the work, it is unnecessary to speak ; and with regard to the form, the publisher has only to observe, that he has done his utmost to produce a book worthy of the matter contained in it. A portrait has also been added, executed by a leading artist of this city, expressly for this edition ; and much care has been taken to prevent error either in the arrangement, or typography. This work should undoubtedly be the text book of every American, and the young should be made well acquainted with the spirit and beauty of its sentiments ; and with this view, the publisher cannot but suggest the propriety of adopting it (probably not at a very distant period) in our schools, as a general reading book, presenting, as it does, examples of elocution and specimens of composition, unexcelled in the English language.

E. W.

112 *Fulton street,* }
New York, April, 1839. }

P R E F A C E .

It might appear at first sight to be an easy task to select prominent passages from the writings of any author ; but in the instance of the following work, a new and singular difficulty has presented itself to the completion of my task. As a traveller suddenly arriving at the brow of a hill, beholds the whole mighty prospect burst on his vision with dazzling beauty, and requires to collect his overpowered faculties to examine each portion of the scenery respectively, nor then feels satisfied, because the beauty of the whole is formed by the contrast of the parts ; so in the selection of the following passages—the continuity, the com-

pleteness, the light and shadow of Oratory, contained in the efforts of Mr. Webster, has required considerable care in the choice of any part separate from the whole. It is my wish as well as my object to lead the thoughtful mind to a clear and careful attention to the extraordinary productions of the most original mind of the age ; and I believe this object will be accomplished. In the following work the reader is presented with the detached leaves of the flower ; and if in their isolated state they should attract the mind, as they inevitably must, and fascinate it with their beauty, the desire must be raised and gratified, of gazing on the whole. The reader can scarcely open a single leaf of this work, or read a single page, without being at once struck with the power of intellect displayed. I scarcely believe that America, proud as she

is of Webster, yet rightly comprehends the immeasurable benefit which he has conferred on her cause, and the cause of liberty generally throughout the world; nor the influence which these magnificent compositions are calculated to exert on all classes of society. And should this little work have the effect of exciting the attention of Americans generally, and induce a deep and careful perusal of the great text books of their Constitution, as contained in his complete works, it will have answered a sufficiently high and noble purpose—to obviate the necessity of any apology for its publication.

J. R.

April, 1839.

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CRITICAL ESSAY

ON

THE GENIUS AND WRITINGS

OF THE HONORABLE

DANIEL WEBSTER.

IN offering a few remarks (as introductory to the following work) on the genius and writings of Mr. Webster, we must observe that the immediate value of those productions consists in their development of admitted and eternal principles. I apprehend we shall find that Mr. Webster does not strive to introduce new doctrines, so much as to illustrate old and stable truths, so that we may almost believe, that the combination of beauty in which he clothes them, and the vigorous power with which he enforces and sustains them, produces in the mind a sensation fully equal and pleasurable to that excited by novelty. Whatever improvements may have been made in the

social and political systems by the influence of increased intelligence and the progression of mankind, still both systems are founded on natural and admitted grounds, and the principles of right and wrong are immutable and eternal. Were the following beauties dependent solely on their brilliancy of language, and the power of imagination displayed, they might form a structure, the pride and glory of the age; but it is the combination of these qualities, in their perfection, with the philosophical and instructive views developed, that exhibits the depth of thought and grandeur of mind which must command the praise and admiration of all ages yet to come. To pursue the metaphor. The writings and productions of Webster appear to us to resemble a massive structure, calculated, by the strength of its materials, to resist the winter blast or the howling storm; and although years may pass over, leaving the moss on its battlements, and the stamp of time upon its walls, it still exists. There are associations too grand and mighty connected with its existence, to allow future generations to leave it to ruin. They derive their power of

stability from the very principles which they endeavor to enforce. The following remarks must be understood to be made without reference to political party, although it is difficult to regard Mr. Webster in an isolated position. His noblest efforts are connected with the constitution. They are the props which have sustained it in the fierce struggle of political madness and selfish strife; and if future ages should be destined to behold its ruin and fall, we prophecy that its strongest support will be found in that elevated and devoted spirit which the efforts of Mr. Webster will have inspired in the people. A spirit, which in its purity and patriotism will lend energy and dignity in every situation of doubt and difficulty, which will mingle with feeling the force of principle, and triumphing over even the power of selfishness, prompt a love of the truly virtuous and noble in action. It will be observed, that one of the chief claims to distinction which these efforts advance, is founded on their connexion and completeness. They resemble a linked chain. The last link must be the boundary of vision, or the sight becomes

confused if we attempt to break off at any intermediate part. This, perhaps, is the perfection of argument and public speaking,—to connect the whole bearings of a subject, and to place them in that train which enables the mind to glide almost imperceptibly from step to step, till the conclusion bursts upon it in irresistible truth.

This is one of the causes which have rendered the task of selecting the following specimens one of considerable difficulty. There is a completeness in the productions of Mr. Webster, which renders it dangerous to withdraw one part, since the grandeur and beauty of the whole consists in the perfect adaptation of all its parts. Idea follows idea and argument succeeds to argument, each depending on the other, and conducting to one end. There is an irresistible spell, which urges the reader or hearer onward; he exclaims with William Tell —

“ Since I have tasted,
I will e’en feed on.”

And this power of concentrating ideas, of placing them to the best advantage, not only

in the beauty of the materials but in the grandeur of the workmanship, is peculiarly his own. Let us select a man unacquainted with the craft of a goldsmith; he may have his house crowded with the material, but it can be of little use to him until he has become accomplished in the art of working that gold into forms of varied beauty and taste. So it is a great peculiarity of Mr. Webster, that while he is working with the same materials as others, yet the facility with which he moulds them to his purposes, and stamps upon them the images of his own great mind, giving the unformed marble shape and expression, places him in a position incomparably distant from every competitor. Nor is it known how far the elevated moral stand which Webster takes, operates upon this power; he derives dignity from the greatness of his subject — he becomes elevated in proportion to its grandeur; like the eagle, whose eye, it is said, is formed to command a wider field of view in proportion to its height. The man who occupies the highest situation, will feel the sunbeams more warm, and behold the sun more brightly. And

it is this prominence, this high station, which Webster assumes above the jealousies of party strife, standing on the rock of imperishable principle, which leads him, as a natural consequence of his situation, to command that extensive view of men and things which is his peculiar characteristic. It is from the exercise of sound principle, and a healthful tone of feeling, that man borrows energy and greatness, for occasions of doubt and difficulty ; that attachment to principle operates on the mind as the free air of heaven on the body ; it invigorates and strengthens, exhilarates and influences, till it becomes a necessary element of its existence. If we regard the peculiarities of Mr. Webster as a statesman, we shall find him distinguished by a far-sightedness, a power of mental vision, which scans, like an experienced mariner, the skirts of the horizon, taking in every object the most minute in the circle of events ; there is a combination of the past, the present, and the future ;— the experience of the past, the enlightened action of the present, and the effect in the future, are drawn together to form a connected whole, in which every

atom depends more or less on its neighbor for support. The common grade of politicians see little beyond present influences ; their political actions resemble their private feelings, selfish ; but the true devotion of the patriot's heart leads him to sacrifice himself, if it be necessary, for the good of others ; and the enlightened statesman looks not only to the effects of the present, but the influences of the future. And it is, we contend, in this point of view that Mr. Webster stands alone ; it is in this power to see the effects of causes, and the will to render them most universally useful, combining the elements of moral greatness with the power of intellectual strength, rearing a temple, not for beauty, but for *use*.

Carrying out our remarks on Mr. Webster as a statesman, we shall find that he is distinguished by extensive knowledge of the history and governments of other nations. It is here that the accomplished statesman rises superior to all other men — in the knowledge of those weak points in other nations and other governments, which warn him from the same quicksands, which lead him to know evil by the ex-

perience of others, and lend him the power to direct his steps in the pathways of truth. With a quickness of perception unequalled, he is enabled to lend that knowledge to the consideration of present difficulties ; and therefore his views of political science are more extensive, more general, and more correct, than any other living man.

But not as a statesman alone must we regard Mr. Webster ; he lays distinguished and undisputed claims to the title of an accomplished Orator. Now, were we to inquire in what true Oratory consists, there can be little doubt that the correct answer would be, That power by which we enlist the sympathies and reason of our audience, in that equal degree which allows neither to predominate over the other. This power is exclusively Mr. Webster's own. We can safely hazard the assertion, that no man recorded amongst the living or the dead exhibits it more fully than does Mr. Webster. If the excitement of passion should bias for a moment, its influence is as short-lived as that excitement ; if the mind is left alone to reason, it becomes wearied, and forsakes its

occupation; but let them both be combined, the reason awakened, the sympathies excited, and the result will necessarily be useful and permanent. We have before made some few remarks on the power which he possesses of combining all the parts of a subject; if this is apparent in him as a Statesman, it is equally so as an Orator; perhaps one of the finest specimens of this power may be traced in his address at Plymouth. The picture is admirably complete. There is scarcely a probable event which escaped his attention; all the local associations, all the patient fortitude, all the inspiring confidence of the Pilgrims, are described with the genius of a poet and the skill of a painter. The whole is before the mind—we seem, even in reading this great effort, to be carried back to the scenes and period of its action, and become fascinated with the view as the mighty panorama rolls around us.

There are circumstances, in every man's life, which call for the exercise of severity. And although sarcasm is not a natural element of Webster's mind, because it is a sentiment

which his high moral feeling cannot indulge, yet when necessity calls for the operation, the materials are always at his command. Pope says,

“Satire should, like a polished razor keen,
Wound with a touch that’s scarcely felt or seen.”

And the power of Mr. Webster’s satire consists in displaying the weakness of its object—he draws the elements of contempt from the thing itself. We do not behold the power of the master inflicting the blow, but we wonder at the weakness of the object, which flies into a thousand shattered particles beneath its force.

As a writer and speaker of the English language, Mr. Webster must be admitted to be the first. And this power of using the English language is the result, to a certain extent, of the conformation of his mind. It is that keensighted vision which detects discrepancy in facts and statements, that leads to the choice of the most perfect mode of adapting his sentences to the expression of the meaning which he wishes to convey. He never uses a sentence which can admit of a doubtful meaning;

all is clear, distinct, intelligible. The figures which tend to explain his sentiments are always fitly chosen in accordance with those sentiments. In the power of imagination and the brilliancy of metaphor, abundant proofs are exhibited of Mr. Webster's pre-eminent accomplishment. There is a judgment, too, exhibited in the choice of those metaphors, which is extremely rare. We have offered these observations with a view of pointing out the distinguished characteristics of this great man. They stand out like the prominent figures of a picture. They are individual, distinct, original. They are suited to the man, and the man to them.

There can be little doubt that the efforts of Mr. Webster are calculated to endure, incorporated with the history of the Constitution. Every succeeding effort adds to his fame and the value of his works. We have read that the monks of La Trappe are accustomed to dig a certain portion of their graves every day. We may reverse the picture, and say that Mr. Webster adds every day some new material to the monument of his greatness and his fame.

That monument is to be found in his works, in their enduring usefulness, and their extensive application ; and here it must stand alone — in solitary grandeur, “towering in the van of all this congregated world ;” and if slander should attempt to malign, or party bitterness condemn — should the birds of prey be let loose to destroy those trophies, they can but wound their blunted beaks against its firm and imperishable structure.

A mistaken view has obtained with regard to the claims of a nation for its great men. We think, however, that men of genius are the property of the world ; and if other nations cannot claim them as their sons, they can at least benefit by their talents. We do not look at Mr. Webster, alone, with regard to his acquaintance with and defence of the American Constitution. We believe that his general views will do much to extend a knowledge of men and things in the world — to purify the feelings and morality of the age — to dignify the nature of man, and to disseminate a correct and philosophical spirit among all classes of society.

In England, the writings of Mr. Webster are calculated to do a vast amount of good, by placing republican institutions on their plain and undeniable principles — opposed to the headlong passions of a misguided mob ; with deadly hostility to every form of tyranny, the true history of popular power, its fixed and eternal principles, have been in these efforts fairly placed before the world. And when the Genius of American liberty shall weep over the grave of Webster, it will be in the bitterness of a widowhood, made desolate by the loss of her ablest and firmest supporter. But in his works, and in their influence upon society, he will have left a legacy for which America and the world will be his everlasting debtors.

BEAUTIES OF WEBSTER.



THE PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION.

THE time has been, indeed, when fleets, and armies, and subsidies, were the principal reliances even in the best cause. But, happily for mankind, there has come a great change in this respect. Moral causes come into consideration, in proportion as the progress of knowledge is advanced; and the public opinion of the civilized world is rapidly gaining an ascendancy over mere brutal force. It is already able to oppose the most formidable obstruction to the progress of injustice and oppression; and as it grows more intelligent and more intense, it will be more and more formidable. It may be silenced by military power, but it cannot be conquered. It is elastic, irrepressible, and invulnerable to the weapons of ordinary warfare. It is that impassable, unextinguishable enemy of mere violence and arbitrary rule, which, like Milton's angels,

"Vital in every part,
Cannot, but by annihilating, die."

Until this be propitiated and satisfied, it is vain for power to talk either of triumphs or of

repose. No matter what fields are desolated, what fortresses surrendered, what armies subdued, or what provinces overrun. In the history of the year that has passed by us, and in the instance of unhappy Spain, we have seen the vanity of all triumphs in a cause which violates the general sense of justice of the civilized world. It is nothing that the troops of France have passed from the Pyrenees to Cadiz ; it is nothing that an unhappy and prostrate nation has fallen before them ; it is nothing that arrests, and confiscation, and execution, sweep away the little remnant of national resistance. There is an enemy that still exists to check the glory of these triumphs. It follows the conqueror back to the very scene of his ovations ; it calls upon him to take notice that Europe, though silent, is yet indignant ; it shows him that the sceptre of his victory is a barren sceptre—that it shall confer neither joy nor honor, but shall moulder to dry ashes in his grasp. In the midst of his exultation it pierces his ear with the cry of injured justice ; it denounces against him the indignation of an enlightened and civilized age ; it turns to bitterness the cup of his rejoicing, and wounds him with the sting which belongs to the

consciousness of having outraged the opinion of mankind.

INTERNATIONAL LAW.

This asserted right of forcible intervention in the affairs of other nations is in open violation of the public law of the world. Is the whole world expected to acquiesce in the principles which entirely subvert the independence of nations? On the basis of this independence has been reared the beautiful fabric of international law. On the principle of this independence, Europe has seen a family of nations flourishing within its limits; the small among the large, protected not always by power, but by a principle above power—by a sense of propriety and justice. On this principle the great commonwealth of civilized states has been hitherto upheld. There have been occasional departures or violations, and always disastrous, as in the case of Poland; but in general the harmony of the system has been wonderfully preserved. In the production and preservation of this sense of justice, this predominating principle, the Christian Religion has acted a main part. Christianity and civilization have labored together: it

seems, indeed, to be a law of our human condition, that they can live and flourish only together. From their blended influence has arisen that delightful spectacle of the prevalence of reason and principle over power and interest, so well described by one who was an honor to the age:

“ And sovereign Law — the world’s collected will,
O’er thrones and globes elate,
Sits empress — crowning good — repressing ill ;
Smit by her sacred frown,
The fiend discretion, like a vapor sinks,
And e’en the all-dazzling crown,
Hides his faint rays, and at her bidding shrinks.”

LIBERALITY OF THE AGE.

I take it for granted that the policy of this country, springing from the nature of our government and the spirit of all our institutions, is, so far as it respects the interesting questions which agitate the present age, on the side of liberal and enlightened sentiments. The age is extraordinary; the spirit that actuates it is peculiar and marked; and our own relation to the times we live in, and to the questions which interest them, is equally marked and peculiar. We are placed by our good fortune, and the wisdom and valor of our ancestors, in a condition in

which we can act no obscure part. Be it for honor, or be it for dishonor, whatever we do is not likely to escape the observation of the world. As one of the free states among the nations, as a great and rapidly rising Republic, it would be impossible for us, if we were so disposed, to prevent our principles, our sentiments, and our example, from producing some effect upon the opinions and hopes of society throughout the civilized world. It rests, probably, with ourselves to determine whether the influence of these shall be salutary or pernicious.

THE POLICY OF PEACE.

It is certainly true that the just policy of this country is, in the first place, a peaceful policy. No nation never had less to expect from a forcible aggrandizement. The mighty agents which are working out our greatness, are time, industry, and the arts. Our augmentation is by growth, not by acquisition ; by internal development, not by external accession. No schemes can be suggested to us so magnificent as the prospects which a sober contemplation of our own condition, unaided by projects, uninfluenced by ambition, fairly spreads before us. A country of such vast extent, with such varieties of soil and cli-

mate ; with so much public spirit and private enterprise ; with a population increasing so much beyond former examples ; with capacities of improvement not only unapplied or unexhausted, but even in a great measure as yet unexplored ; so free in its institutions, so mild in its laws, so secure in the title it confers on every man to his own acquisitions, needs nothing but time and peace to carry it forward to almost any point of advancement.

DEFENCE OF PRINCIPLE.

The senate regarded this interposition as an encroachment by the executive on other branches of government ; as an interference with the legislative disposition of the public treasure. It was strongly and forcibly urged by the honorable member from South Carolina, that the true and only mode of preserving any balance of power, in mixed governments, is to keep an exact balance. This is very true ; and to this end, encroachment must be resisted at the first step. The question is, therefore, whether, upon the true principles of the constitution, this exercise of power by the President can be justified. Whether the consequences be prejudicial or not, if there be an illegal exercise of power,

it is to be resisted in the proper manner ; even if no harm or inconvenience result from transgressing the boundary, the intrusion is not to be suffered to pass unnoticed. Every encroachment, great or small, is important enough to awaken the attention of those who are entrusted with the preservation of a constitutional government. We are not to wait till great public mischiefs come, till the government is overthrown, or liberty itself put in extreme jeopardy. We should not be worthy sons of our fathers were we so to regard great questions affecting the general freedom. Those fathers accomplished the revolution on a strict question of principle. The parliament of Great Britain asserted a right to tax the colonies in all cases whatsoever ; and it was precisely on this question that they made the revolution turn. The amount of taxation was trifling ; but the claim itself was inconsistent with liberty ; and that was, in their eyes, enough. It was against the recital of an act of parliament, rather than against any suffering under the enactments, that they took up arms. They went to war against a preamble. They fought seven years against a declaration. They poured out their treasures and their blood, like water, in a contest, in opposition to an assertion,

which those less sagacious, and not so well school-ed in the principles of civil liberty, would have regarded as barren phraseology or mere parade of words. They saw, in the claim of the British Parliament, a seminal principle of mischief, the germ of unjust power; they detected it, dragged it forth from underneath its plausible disguises, struck at it; nor did it elude their steady eye or their well-directed blow till they had extirpated and destroyed it to the smallest fibre. On this question of principle, while actual suffering was yet afar off, they raised their flag against a power to which, for purposes of foreign conquest and subjugation, Rome, in the height of her glory, is not to be compared; a power which has dotted over the surface of the whole globe with her possessions and military posts, whose morning drum-beat, following the sun and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth daily with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England.

SPIRIT OF LIBERTY.

The first object of a free people is, the preservation of their liberty; and liberty is only to be preserved by maintaining constitutional restraints and just divisions of political power.

Nothing is more deceptive or more dangerous than the pretence of a desire to simplify government. The simplest governments are despotisms ; the next simplest, limited monarchies ; but all republics, all governments of law, must impose numerous limitations and qualifications of authority, and give many positive and many qualified rights. In other words, they must be subject to rule and regulation. This is the very essence of free political institutions. The spirit of liberty is indeed a bold and fearless spirit, but it is also a sharp-sighted spirit ; it is a cautious, sagacious, discriminating, far-seeing intelligence ; it is jealous of encroachment, jealous of power, jealous of man. It demands checks, it seeks for guards, it insists on securities ; it entrenches itself behind strong defences, and fortifies with all possible care against the assaults of ambition and passion. It does not trust the amiable weaknesses of human nature, and therefore it will not permit power to overstep its prescribed limits, though benevolence, good intent, and patriotic purpose, come along with it. Neither does it satisfy itself with flashy and temporary resistance to illegal authority. Far otherwise, it seeks for duration and permanence. It looks before and after ; and, building on the experience of ages

which are past, it labors diligently for the benefit of ages to come. This is the nature of constitutional liberty, and this is *our* liberty if we will rightly understand and preserve it. Every free government is necessarily complicated, because all such governments establish restraints, as well on the power of government itself as on that of individuals. If we will abolish the distinction of branches, and have but one branch; if we will abolish jury trials, and leave all to the judge; if we will then ordain that the legislator shall himself be the judge; and if we will place the executive power in the same hands, we may readily simplify government — we may easily bring it to the simplest of all possible forms — a pure despotism. But a separation of departments, so far as practicable, and the preservation of clear lines of division between them, is the fundamental idea in the creation of all our constitutions; and doubtless the continuance of regulated liberty depends on maintaining these boundaries.

THE STRUGGLE OF LIBERTY.

The contest for ages has been to rescue liberty from the grasp of executive power. Whoever has engaged in her sacred cause, from the days of the downfall of those great aristocracies, which

had stood between the king and the people, to the time of our own independence, has struggled for the accomplishment of that single object. On the long list of champions of human freedom, there is not one name damned by the reproach of advocating the extension of executive authority ; on the contrary, the uniform and steady purpose of all such champions has been, to limit and restrain it. To this end, the spirit of liberty, growing more and more enlightened, and more and more vigorous from age to age, has been battering for centuries against the solid buttments of the feudal system. To this end, all that could be gained from the imprudence, snatched from the weakness, or wrung from the necessities of crowned heads, has been carefully gathered up, secured, and hoarded, as the rich treasures, the very jewels of liberty. To this end, popular and representative right has kept up its warfare against prerogative with various success ; sometimes writing the history of a whole age in blood, sometimes witnessing the martyrdoms of Sydneys and Russels ; often baffled and repulsed, but still gaining, on the whole, and holding what it gained with a grasp which nothing but the complete extinction of its own being could compel it to relinquish. At length, the great conquest over

executive power in the leading western states of Europe, has been accomplished. The feudal system, like other stupendous fabrics of past ages, is known only by the rubbish it has left behind it. Crowned heads have been compelled to submit to the restraints of law ; and the PEOPLE, with that intelligence and that spirit which make their voice resistless, have been able to say to prerogative, “ thus far shalt thou come, and no farther.” I need hardly say, that into the full enjoyment of all which Europe has reached only through such slow and painful steps, we sprang at once, by the declaration of independence, and by the establishment of free representative government ; governments, borrowing more or less from the models of other free states, but strengthened, secured, improved in their symmetry, and deepened in their foundation, by those great men of our own country, whose names will be as familiar to future times as if they were written on the arch of the sky.

MASSACHUSETTS.

I shall enter on no encomium of Massachusetts — she needs none. There she is — behold her, and judge for yourselves. There is her history. The world has it by heart. The past

at least is secure. There is Boston, and Concord, and Lexington, and Bunker Hill; and there they will remain for ever. The bones of her sons, fallen in the great struggle for independence, now lie mingled with the soil of every State from New-England to Georgia; and there they will lie for ever. And, sir, where American Liberty raised its first voice, and where its youth was nurtured and sustained, there it still lives in the strength of its manhood, and full of its original spirit. If discord and disunion shall wound it; if party strife and blind ambition shall hawk at and tear it; if folly and madness, if uneasiness under salutary and necessary restraint, shall succeed to separate it from that union by which alone its existence is made sure; in the end, by the side of that cradle in which its infancy was rocked, it will stretch forth its arms with whatever vigor it may still retain over the friends who gather round it; and it will fall at last, if fall it must, amidst the proudest monuments of its own glory, and on the very spot of its origin.

CHARACTER OF FRIENDS.

When, sir, were the Society of Friends found to be political agitators, ambitious partisans, or

panic makers? When have they disturbed the community with false cries of public danger, or joined in any clamor against just, and wise, and constitutional government? Sir, if there be any political fault fairly imputable to the Friends, I think it is rather, if they will allow me to say so, that they are a little too indifferent about the exercise of their political rights; a little too ready to leave all matters respecting government in the hands of others. Not ambitious, usually, of honor or office, but peaceable and industrious, they desire only the safety of liberty, civil and religious, the security of property, and the protection of honest labor. All they ask of government is, that it be wisely and safely administered. They are not desirous to interfere in its administration. Yet, sir, a crisis can move them, and they think a crisis now exists. They bow down to nothing human, which raises its head higher than the constitution, or above the laws.

RELIGIOUS FEELING.

On the general question of Slavery, a great portion of the community is already strongly excited. The subject has not only attracted attention as a question of politics, but it has struck a far deeper-toned chord. It has arrested the

religious feeling of the country ; it has taken strong hold on the consciences of men. He is a rash man indeed, and little conversant with human nature, and especially has he a very erroneous estimate of the character of the people of this country, who supposes that a feeling of this kind is to be trifled with or despised. It will assuredly cause itself to be respected. It may be reasoned with, it may be made willing, I believe it is entirely willing, to fulfil all existing engagements and all existing duties, to uphold and defend the constitution as it is established, with whatever regrets about some provisions which it does actually contain. But to coerce it into silence—to endeavor to restrain its free expression, to seek to compress and confine it, warm as it is, and more heated as such endeavors would inevitably render it—should all this be attempted? I know nothing, even in the Constitution or in the Union itself, which would not be endangered by the explosion which might follow.

THE SOUTH.

Sir, does the honorable gentleman suppose it in his power to exhibit a Carolina name so bright as to produce envy in my bosom? No, sir; increased gratification and delight rather. Sir, I

thank God if I am gifted with little of that spirit which is said to be able to raise mortals to the skies; I have yet none, I trust, of that other spirit, which would drag angels down. When I shall be found, sir, here in my place in the senate, or elsewhere, to sneer at public merit because it happened to spring up beyond the little limits of my own state or neighborhood; when I refuse, for any such cause or for any cause, the homage due to American talent, to elevated patriotism, to sincere devotion to liberty and the country; or if I see an uncommon endowment of heaven — if I see extraordinary capacity and virtue in any son of the south — and if, moved by local prejudice or gangrened by state jealousy, I get up here to abate the tithe of a hair from his just character and just fame; may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth! Sir, let me recur to pleasing recollections — let me indulge in refreshing remembrance of the past — let me remind you, that in early times no States cherished greater harmony, both of principle and of feeling, than Massachusetts and South Carolina. Would to God that harmony might again return. Shoulder to shoulder they went through the revolution; hand in hand they stood round the administration of Washington, and felt his own great

arm lean on them for support. Unkind feeling, if it exist, alienation and distrust, are the growth unnatural to such soils, of false principles since sown. They are weeds, the seeds of which that great arm never scattered.

THE POOR AND THE RICH.

I know that under the shade of the roofs of the Capitol, within the last twenty-four hours, among men sent here to devise means for the public safety and the public good, it has been vaunted forth, as a matter of boast and triumph, that one cause existed, powerful enough to support every thing, and to defend every thing; and that was the cause of the Rich against the Poor.

Sir, I pronounce the author of such sentiments to be guilty of attempting a detestable fraud on the community; a double fraud; a fraud which is to cheat men out of their property, and out of the earnings of their labor, by first cheating them out of their understandings.

“The natural hatred of the poor to the rich!” Sir, it shall not be till the last moment of my existence, it shall be only when I am drawn to the verge of oblivion, when I shall cease to have respect or affection for any thing on earth, that I will believe the people of the United States ca-

pable of being effectually deluded, cajoled, and driven about in herds by such abominable hands as these. If they shall sink to that point ; if they so far cease to be men, thinking men, intelligent men, as to yield to such pretences and such clamor, they will be slaves already — slaves to their own passions, slaves to the fraud and knavery of pretended friends. They will deserve to be blotted out of all the records of freedom ; they ought not to dishonor the cause of self-government by attempting any longer to exercise it ; they ought to keep their unworthy hands entirely off from the cause of Republican liberty, if they are capable of being the victims of artifices so shallow — of tricks so stale, so threadbare, so much practised, so much worn out, on serfs and slaves.

GOOD AND BAD INTENTIONS.

Good motives may always be supposed, as bad motives may always be imputed. Good intentions will always be pleaded for every assumption of power ; but they cannot justify it, even if we were sure that they existed. It is hardly too strong to say that the Constitution was made to guard the people against the dangers of good intention, real or pretended. When bad inten-

tions are boldly avowed, the people will promptly take care of themselves. On the other hand, they will always be asked, why they should resist or question that exercise of power which is so fair in its object, so plausible and patriotic in appearance, and which has the public good alone confessedly in view? Human things, we may be assured, will generally exercise power when they can get it; and they will exercise it most undoubtedly in popular government, under pretences of public safety or high public interest. It may be very possible that good intentions do really sometimes exist when Constitutional restraints are disregarded. There are men in all ages who mean to exercise power usefully, but who mean to exercise it. They mean to govern well, but they mean to govern. They promise to be kind masters, but they mean to be masters. They think there need be but little restraint upon themselves. Their notion of the public interest is apt to be quite closely connected with their own exercise of authority. They may not, indeed, always understand their own motives. The love of power may sink too deep in their hearts even for their own scrutiny, and may pass with themselves for mere patriotism and benevolence.

A character has been drawn of a very eminent

citizen of Massachusetts, of the last age, which, though I think it does not entirely belong to him, yet very well describes a certain class of public men. It was said of this distinguished son of Massachusetts, that in matters of politics and government he cherished the most kind and benevolent feelings towards the whole earth. He earnestly desired to see all nations well governed; and, to bring about this happy result, he wished that the United States might govern the rest of the world; that Massachusetts might govern the United States; that Boston might govern Massachusetts; and as for himself, his own humble ambition would be satisfied by governing the little town of Boston.

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

Under the present Constitution, wisely and conscientiously administered, all are safe, happy, and renowned. The measure of our country's fame may fill our breasts. It is fame enough for us all to partake in *her* glory, if we will carry her character onward to its true destiny. But if the system is broken, its fragments must fall alike on all. Not only the cause of American liberty, but the cause of Liberty throughout the whole earth, depends, in a great measure, on up-

holding the Constitution and Union of these States. If shattered and destroyed, no matter by what cause, the peculiar and cherished idea of United American Liberty, will be no more for ever. There may be free states, it is possible, when there shall be separate States. There may be many loose, and feeble, and hostile confederacies, where there is now one great and united confederacy. But the noble idea of United American Liberty, of *our* Liberty, such as our fathers established it, will be extinguished for ever. Fragments and severed columns of the edifice may be found remaining, and melancholy and mournful ruins will they be ; the august temple itself will be prostrate in the dust. Gentlemen, the citizens of this Republic cannot sever their fortunes. A common fate awaits us. In the honor of upholding, or in the disgrace of undermining, the Constitution, we shall all necessarily partake. Let us, then, stand by the Constitution as it is, and by our country as it is ; one, united and entire ; let it be a truth engraven on our hearts, let it be borne on the flag under which we rally in every exigency, that we have ONE COUNTRY, ONE CONSTITUTION, ONE DESTINY.

EXCLUSIVE METALLIC CURRENCY.

Sir, what a money counting, tinkling, jingling generation we shall be. All the money changers in Solomon's temple will be as nothing to us. Our sound will go forth unto all lands. We shall all be like the king in the ditty of the nursery—

“There sat the king a counting of his money.”

UNION.

I am where I have ever been and ever mean to be. Here, standing on the platform of the general Constitution—a platform broad enough and firm enough to uphold every interest of the whole country—I shall still be found. Intrusted with some part in the administration of that Constitution, I intend to act in its spirit, and in the spirit of those who framed it. Yes, sir, I would act as if our fathers, who formed it for us, and who bequeathed it to us, were looking on me—as if I could see their venerable forms, bending down to behold us from the abodes above. I would act, too, as if the eye of posterity was gazing on me.

Standing thus, as in the full gaze of our ancestors, and our posterity, having received this inheritance from the former to be transmitted to

the latter ; and feeling that if I am born for any good in my day and generation, it is for the good of the whole country, no local policy or local feeling, no temporary impulse, shall induce me to yield my foothold on the Constitution and the Union. I move off under no banner not known to the whole American People, and to their Constitution and laws. No, sir, these walls, these columns

“ fly
From their firm base as soon as I.”

I came into public life, sir, in the service of the United States. On that broad altar my earliest and all my public vows have been made. I propose to serve no other master. So far as depends on any agency of mine, they shall continue United States ; united in interest and in affection ; united in every thing in regard to which the Constitution has decreed their union ; united in war, for the common defence, the common renown, and the common glory ; and united, compacted, knit firmly together in peace, for the common prosperity and happiness of ourselves and our children.

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Sir, our condition is peculiar. One hardly knows how to describe it. In the midst of all the bounties of Providence, and in a time of profound peace, we are poor. Our Secretary of the Treasury, sir, is not Midas. His touch does not turn every thing to gold. It seems rather to turn every thing into stone. It stops the functions and the action of organized social life, and congeals the whole body politic. It produces a kind of instantaneous petrification. We see still the form of our once active social system, but it is without life. We can trace the veins along its cold surface, but they are bloodless ; we see the muscles, but they are motionless ; the external form is yet fair and goodly, but there is a cessation of the principle of life within.

CREDIT.

Credit is the vital air of the system of Modern Commerce. It has done more, a thousand times, to enrich nations, than all the mines of all the world. It has excited labor, stimulated manufactures, pushed commerce over every sea ; and brought every nation, every kingdom, and every small tribe among the races of men, to be known

to all the rest. It has raised armies, equipped navies; and, triumphing over the gross power of mere numbers, it has established national superiority on the foundation of intelligence, wealth, and well-directed industry. Credit is to money what money is to articles of merchandize. As hard money represents property, so credit represents hard money; and is capable of supplying the place of money so completely, that there are writers of distinction, especially of the Scotch school, who insist that no hard money is necessary for the interests of commerce. I am not of that opinion. I do not think any government can maintain an exclusive paper system without running to excess, and thereby causing depreciation.

BANKS.

The history of Banks belongs to the history of Commerce and the general interests of liberty. It belongs to the history of those causes, which, in a long course of years, raised the middle and lower orders of society to a state of intelligence and property, in spite of the iron sway of the feudal system. In what instance have they endangered liberty or overcome the laws? Their very existence, on the contrary, depends on the

security and the rule both of liberty and law. Why, sir, have we not been taught, in our earliest readings, that to the birth of a commercial spirit, to associations for trade, to the guilds and companies formed in the towns, we are to look for the first appearance of liberty from the darkness of the middle ages ; for the first faint blush of that morning, which has grown brighter and brighter till the perfect day has come ?

THE SUB-TREASURY.

My opposition to the bill is to the whole of it. It is general, uncompromising, and decided. I oppose all its ends, objects, and purposes. I oppose all its means, its inventions, and its contrivances. I am opposed to the separation of government and people ; I am opposed, now and at all times, to an exclusive metallic currency ; I am opposed to the spirit in which the measure originates, and to all and every endeavor and ebullition of that spirit. I solemnly declare, that in thus studying our own safety, and renouncing all care over the general currency, we are, in my opinion, abandoning one of the plainest and most important of our constitutional duties. If, sir, we were at this moment at war with a powerful enemy, and if his fleets and armies were now ra-

vaging our shores, and it were proposed in Congress to take care of ourselves — to defend the Capitol and abandon the country to its fate, it would be certainly a more striking, a more flagrant and daring, but in my judgment not a more clear and manifest dereliction of duty, than we commit in this open and professed abandonment of our constitutional power and constitutional duty over the great interest of the national currency. I mean to maintain that constitutional power, and that constitutional duty, to the last. It shall not be with my consent that our ancient policy shall be overturned. It shall not be with my consent that the country shall be plunged farther and farther into the unfathomed depths of new expedients. It shall not be without a voice of remonstrance from me, that one great and important purpose for which this government was framed, shall now be utterly surrendered and abandoned for ever.

EXECUTIVE POWER.

And now, sir, who is he so ignorant of the history of liberty at home and abroad; who is he, yet dwelling in his contemplations among the principles and dogmas of the middle ages; who is he, from whose bosom all original infusion of

American spirit has become so entirely evaporated and exhaled, as that he shall put into the mouth of the President of the United States the doctrine that the defence of liberty *naturally results* to executive power, and is its peculiar duty? Who is he that, generous and confiding towards power where it is most dangerous, and jealous only of those who can restrain it; who is he that, reversing the order of the State, and upheaving the base, would poise the political pyramid of the political system upon its apex; who is he that, overlooking with contempt the guardianship of the Representatives of the people, and with equal contempt the higher guardianship of the people themselves; who is he that declares to us, through the President's lips, that the security for freedom rests in executive authority? Who is he that belies the blood and libels the fame of his own ancestors, by declaring that *they*, with solemnity of form and force of manner, have invoked the executive power to come to the protection of liberty? Who is he that thus charges them with the insanity or recklessness of putting the lamb beneath the lion's paw? No, sir; our security is in our watchfulness of executive power. It was the constitution of this department, which was infinitely the most difficult part

in the great work of creating our present government. To give to the executive department such power as should make it useful, and yet not such as should render it dangerous ; to make it efficient, independent, and strong, and yet to prevent it from sweeping away every thing by its union of military and civil authority, by the influence of patronage, and office, and favor : this, indeed, was difficult. They who had the work to do, saw the difficulty, and we see it ; and if we would maintain our system, we shall act wisely to that end by preserving every restraint and every guard which the Constitution has provided. And when we, and those who come after us, have done all that we can do, and all that they can do, it will be well for us and for them, if some popular Executive, by the power of patronage and party, and the power, too, of that very popularity, shall not hereafter prove an over-match for all other branches of the government.

PLYMOUTH ROCK.

There is a local feeling connected with this occasion too strong to be resisted, a sort of *genius of the place*, which inspires and awes us. We feel that we are on the spot where the first scene

of our history was laid ; where the hearths and altars of New-England were first placed ; where Christianity, and civilization, and letters, made their first lodgment, in a vast extent of country, covered with a wilderness, and peopled with roving barbarians. We are here at the season of the year at which the event took place. The imagination irresistibly and rapidly draws around us the principal features and the leading characters in the original scene. We cast our eyes abroad on the ocean, and we see where the little bark, with the interesting group upon its deck, made its slow progress to the shore. We look around us, and behold the hills and promontories where the anxious eyes of our forefathers first saw the places of habitation and of rest. We feel the cold which benumbed, and listen to the winds which pierced them. Beneath us is the Rock on which New England received the feet of the Pilgrims. We seem even to behold them, as they struggle with the elements, and, with toilsome efforts, gain the shore. We listen to the Chiefs in council ; we see the unexampled exhibition of female fortitude and resignation ; we hear the whisperings of youthful impatience ; and we see, what a painter of our own has also represented by his pencil, chilled and shivering

childhood, houseless but for a mother's arms, couchless but for a mother's breast, till our own blood almost freezes.

NEW ENGLAND.

Let us rejoice that we behold this day. Let us be thankful that we have lived to see the bright and happy breaking of the auspicious morn which commences the third century of the History of New England. Auspicious indeed ! bringing an happiness beyond the common allotment of Providence to men ; full of present joy, and gilding, with bright beams, the prospect of futurity, is the dawn that awakens us to the commemoration of the landing of the Pilgrims.

Living at an epoch which naturally marks the progress of the History of our native land, we have come hither to celebrate the great event with which that history commenced. For ever honored be this, the place of our father's refuge ! For ever remembered the day which saw them, wearied and distressed, broken in every thing but spirit, poor in all but faith and courage, at last secure from the dangers of wintry seas, and impressing this shore with the first footsteps of civilized man.

ASSOCIATION.

It is a noble faculty of our nature which enables us to connect our thoughts, our sympathies, and our happiness, with what is distant in place or time ; and, looking before and after, to hold communion at once with our ancestors and our posterity. Human and mortal though we are, we are, nevertheless, not mere isolated beings, without relation to the past or the future. Neither the point of time, nor the spot of earth in which we physically live, bounds our rational and intellectual enjoyments. We live in the past, by a knowledge of its history ; and in the future, by hope and anticipation. By ascending to an association with our ancestors ; by contemplating their examples and studying their character ; by partaking their sentiments, and imbibing their spirit ; by accompanying them in their toils ; by sympathizing in their sufferings, and rejoicing in their successes and their triumphs : we mingle our own existence with theirs, and seem to belong to their age. We become their cotemporaries, live the lives which they lived, endure what they endured, and partake in the rewards which they enjoyed. And in like manner, by running along the line of future time ; by con-

templating the probable fortunes of those who are coming after us ; by attempting something which may promote their happiness, and leave some, not dishonorable, memorial of ourselves for their regard, when we shall sleep with the fathers, we protract our own earthly being, and seem to crowd whatever is future, as well as that which is past, into the narrow compass of our earthly existence. As it is not a vain and false, but an exalted and religious imagination, which leads us to raise our thoughts from the orb which, amidst this universe of worlds, the Creator has given us to inhabit, and to send them with something of the feeling which nature prompts, and teaches to be proper among children of the same Eternal Parent, to the contemplation of the myriads of fellow-beings with which his goodness has peopled the infinity of space ; so neither is it false or vain to consider ourselves as interested and connected with our race through all time ; allied to our ancestors, allied to our posterity, closely compacted on all sides with others — ourselves being but links in the great chain of being, which begins with the origin of our race, runs onward through its successive generations, binding together the past, the present, and the future, and terminating at last, with the

consummation of all things earthly, at the throne of God.

MARATHON.

There have been battles which have fixed the fate of nations. These come down to us in history, with a solemn and permanent interest, not created by a display of glittering armor, the rush of adverse battalions, the sinking and rising of pennons, the flight, the pursuit, and the victory ; but by their effect in advancing or retarding human knowledge, in overthrowing or establishing despotism, in extending or destroying human happiness. When the traveller pauses on the plains of Marathon, what are the emotions which most strongly agitate his breast ? What is that glorious recollection which thrills through his frame and suffuses his eyes ? Not, I imagine, that Grecian skill and Grecian valor were here most signally displayed ; but that Greece herself was here saved. It is because, to this spot, and to the event which has rendered it immortal, he refers all the succeeding glories of the republic. It is because, if that day had gone otherwise, Greece had perished. It is because he perceives that her philosophers and orators, her poets and painters, her sculptors and architects, her go-

vernments and free institutions, point backward to Marathon; and that their future existence seems to have been suspended on the contingency, whether the Persian or the Grecian banner should wave victorious in the beams of that day's setting sun. And as his imagination kindles at the retrospect, he is transported back to the interesting moment; he counts the fearful odds of the contending hosts; his interest for the result overwhelms him; he trembles, as if it were still uncertain, and seems to doubt whether he may consider Socrates, and Plato, Demosthenes, Sophocles, and Phidias, as secure yet to himself and to the world.

EUROPE.

Europe, within the same period, has been agitated by a mighty revolution, which, while it has been felt in the individual condition and happiness of almost every man, has shaken to the centre her political fabric, and dashed against one another thrones which had stood tranquil for ages.

BUNKER HILL.

We know, indeed, that the record of illustrious actions is most safely deposited in the universal

remembrance of mankind. We know, that if we would cause this structure to ascend, not only till it reached the skies, but till it pierced them, its broad surface would still contain but part of that which, in an age of knowledge, hath already been spread over the earth, and which History charges itself with making known to all future times. We know that no inscription on tablatures, less broad than the earth itself, can carry information of the events we commemorate where it has not already gone ; and that no structure, which shall not outlive the duration of letters and knowledge among men, can prolong the memorial. But our object is, by this edifice, to show our own deep sense of the value and importance of the achievements of our ancestors ; and, by presenting this work of gratitude to the eye, to keep alive similar sentiments, and to foster a constant regard for the principles of the Revolution. Human beings are composed, not of reason only, but of imagination, also, and sentiment ; and that is neither wasted nor misapplied, which is appropriated to the purpose of giving right direction to sentiments, and opening proper springs of feeling in the heart. Let it not be supposed that our object is to perpetuate national hostility, or even to cherish a

mere military spirit. It is higher, purer, nobler. We consecrate our work to the spirit of national independence, and we wish that the light of peace may rest on it for ever. We rear a memorial of our conviction of that unmeasured benefit which has been conferred on our own land, and of the happy influences which have been produced by the same events on the general interests of mankind. We come, as Americans, to mark a spot which must for ever be dear to us and our posterity. We wish that whosoever, in all coming time, shall turn his eye hither, may behold that the place is not undistinguished where the first great battle of the Revolution was fought. We wish that this structure may proclaim the magnitude and importance of that event, to every class and every age. We wish that infancy may learn the purpose of its erection from maternal lips, and that weary and withered age may behold it, and be solaced by the recollections which it suggests. We wish that labor may look up here, and be proud in the midst of its toil. We wish that in those days of disaster, which, as they come on all nations, must be expected to come on us also, desponding patriotism may turn its eye hitherward, and be assured that the foundations of our national

power will still stand strong. We wish that this column, rising towards heaven, among the pointed spires of so many temples dedicated to God, may contribute, also, to produce in all minds a pious feeling of dependence and gratitude. We wish, finally, that the last object on the sight of him who leaves his native shore, and the first to gladden him who revisits it, may be something which shall remind him of the liberty and the glory of his country. Let it rise till it meet the sun in his coming. Let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit.

THE SURVIVORS OF BUNKER HILL.

VENERABLE MEN ! you have come down to us from a former generation. Heaven has bounteously lengthened out your lives that you might behold this joyous day. You are now where you stood fifty years ago this very hour, with your brothers and your neighbors, shoulder to shoulder, in the strife for your country. Behold how altered ! The same heavens are indeed over your heads ; the same ocean rolls at your feet ; but all else, how changed ! You hear now no roar of hostile cannon, you see no mixed volumes of smoke and flame rising from burning Charles-

town. The ground strewed with the dead and the dying ; the impetuous charge, the steady and successful repulse ; the loud call to repeated assault ; the summoning of all that is manly to repeated resistance ; a thousand bosoms freely and fearlessly bared in an instant to whatever of terror there may be in war and death ; all these you have witnessed, but you witness them no more. All is peace. The height of yonder metropolis, its towers and roots, which you then saw filled with wives, and children, and countrymen, in distress and terror, and looking with unutterable emotions for the issue of the combat, have presented you to-day with the sight of its whole happy population come out to welcome and greet you with an universal jubilee. Yonder proud ships, by a felicity of position, appropriately lying at the foot of this mount, and seeming fondly to cling around it, are not means of annoyance to you, but your country's own means of distinction and defence. All is peace ; and God has granted you this sight of your country's happiness ere you slumber in the grave for ever. He has allowed you to behold and partake the reward of your patriotic toil ; and he has allowed us, your sons and countrymen, to meet you here, and in the name of the present generation —

in the name of your country — in the name of liberty — to thank you.

But, alas ! you are not all here. Time and the sword have thinned your ranks. Prescott, Putnam, Stark, Brooks, Read, Pomeroy, Bridge ! our eyes seek for you in vain amidst this broken band. You are gathered to your fathers, and live only to your country in her grateful remembrance and your own bright example. But let us not too much grieve that you have met with the common fate of men. You lived at least long enough to know that your work had been nobly and successfully accomplished. You lived to see your country's independence established, and to sheathe your swords from war. On the light of liberty you saw arise the light of peace, like —

“ another morn
Risen on mid-noon ;”

and the sky on which you closed your eyes, was cloudless.

GENERAL WARREN.

But ah ! Him ! the first great martyr in this great cause ! Him ! the premature victim of his own self-devoting heart. Him ! the head of our civil councils and the destined leader of our military bands, whom nothing brought hither but

the unquenchable fire of his own spirit ; Him ! cut off by Providence in the hour of overwhelming anxiety and thick gloom ; falling ere he saw the star of his country rise ; pouring out his generous blood like water before he knew whether it would fertilize a land of freedom or of bondage ! How shall I struggle with the emotions that stifle the utterance of thy name ! Our poor work may perish, but thine shall endure ! This monument may moulder away ; the solid ground it rests on may sink down to a level with the sea ; but thy memory shall not fail ! Wheresoever among men a heart shall be found that beats to the transports of patriotism and liberty, its aspirations shall be to claim kindred with thy spirit !

THE HEROES OF THE REVOLUTION.

VETERANS ! you are the remnant of many a well fought field. You bring with you marks of honor from Trenton, and Monmouth, from Yorktown, Camden, Bennington, and Saratoga. VETERANS OF HALF A CENTURY ! when in your youthful days, you put every thing at hazard in your country's cause, good as that cause was, and sanguine as youth is, still your fondest hopes did not stretch onward to an hour like this ! At

a period to which you could not reasonably have expected to arrive; at a moment of national prosperity, such as you could never have foreseen; you are now met here, to enjoy the fellowship of old soldiers, and to receive the overflowings of an universal gratitude.

But your agitated countenances and your heaving breasts inform me that even this is not an unmixed joy. I perceive that a tumult of contending feelings rushes upon you. The images of the dead, as well as the persons of the living, throng to your embraces. The scene overwhelms you, and I turn from it. May the Father of all mercies smile upon your declining years, and bless them! And when you shall here have exchanged your embraces — when you shall once more have pressed the hands which have been so often extended to give succor in adversity, or grasped in the exultation of victory; then look abroad into this lovely land, which your young valor defended, and mark the happiness with which it is filled; yea, look abroad into the whole earth, and see what a name you have contributed to give to your country, and what a praise you have added to freedom, and then rejoice in the sympathy and gratitude which beam

upon your last days, from the improved condition of mankind.

The occasion does not require of me any particular account of the battle of the 17th of June, nor any detailed narrative of the events which immediately preceded it. These are familiarly known to all. In the progress of the great and interesting controversy, Massachusetts and the town of Boston had become early and marked objects of the displeasure of the British Parliament. This had been manifested in the Act for altering the government of the Province, and in that for shutting up the Port of Boston. Nothing sheds more honour on our early history, and nothing better shows how little the feelings and sentiments of the colonies were known or regarded in England, than the impression which these measures every where produced in America. It had been anticipated, that while the other colonies would be terrified by the severity of the punishment inflicted on Massachusetts, the other seaports would be governed by a mere spirit of gain; and that, as Boston was now cut off from all commerce, the unexpected advantage which this blow on her was calculated to confer on other towns, would be greedily enjoyed. How miserably such reasoners deceived

themselves ! How little they knew of the depth, and the strength, and the intenseness of that feeling of resistance to illegal acts of power, which possessed the whole American people ! Every where the unworthy boon was rejected with scorn. The fortunate occasion was seized, every where, to show the whole world that the colonies were swayed by no local interest, no partial interest, no selfish interest. The temptation to profit by the punishment of Boston, was strongest to our neighbors of Salem. Yet Salem was precisely the place where this miserable proffer was spurned, in a tone of the most lofty self-respect, and the most indignant patriotism. "We are deeply affected," said its inhabitants, "with the sense of our public calamities, but the miseries that are now rapidly hastening on our brethren in the capital of the Province, greatly excites our commiseration. By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit ; but we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feeling of humanity, could we indulge a thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbors." These noble sentiments were not confined to our immediate vicinity. In

that day of general affliction and brotherhood, the blow given to Boston smote on every patriotic heart, from one end of the country to the other. Virginia and the Carolinas, as well as Connecticut and New Hampshire, felt, and proclaimed the cause to be their own. The Continental Congress, then holding its first session in Philadelphia, expressed its sympathy for the suffering inhabitants of Boston, and addresses were received from all quarters, assuring them that the cause was a common one, and should be met by common efforts and common sacrifices. The Congress of Massachusetts responded to these assurances; and in an address to the Congress at Philadelphia, bearing the official signature, perhaps, among the last, of the immortal Warren, notwithstanding the severity of its suffering, and the magnitude of the dangers which threatened it, it was declared, that this colony "is ready, at all times, to spend and to be spent in the cause of America."

But the hour drew nigh which was to put professions to the proof, and to determine whether the authors of these mutual pledges were ready to seal them in blood. The tidings of Lexington and Concord had no sooner spread, than it was universally felt, that the time was

at last come for action. A spirit pervaded all ranks, not transient, not boisterous, but deep, solemn, determined,

“totamque infusa per artus

Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscit.”

War, on their own soil, and at their own doors, was, indeed, strange work to the yeomanry of New England ; but their consciences were convinced of its necessity — their country called them to it, and they did not withhold themselves from the perilous trial. The ordinary occupations of life were abandoned ; the plough was staid in the unfinished furrow ; wives gave up their husbands, and mothers gave up their sons, to the battles of a civil war. Death might come, in honor, on the field ; it might come, in disgrace, on the scaffold. For either, and for both, they were prepared. The sentiment of Quincy was full in their hearts. “Blandishments,” said that distinguished son of genius and patriotism, “will not fascinate us, nor will threats of a halter intimidate ; for, under God, we are determined, that wheresoever, whensoever, or howsoever we shall be called to make our exit, we will die free men.”

THE FEELING OF THE PILGRIMS.

“If God prosper us,” might have been the appropriate language of our fathers, when they landed on the rock ; if God prosper us, we shall here begin a work which shall last for ages ; we shall plant here a new society, in the principles of the fullest liberty, and the purest religion ; we shall subdue this wilderness, which is before us ; we shall fill this region of the great continent, which stretches from pole to pole, with civilization and Christianity ; the temples of the true God shall rise where now ascends the smoke of idolatrous sacrifice ; fields and gardens — the flowers of summer, and the waving and golden harvests of autumn, shall extend over a thousand hills, and stretch along a thousand valleys, never, since the creation, reclaimed to the use of civilized man. We shall whiten this coast with the canvass of a prosperous commerce ; we shall stud the long and winding shore with a hundred cities. That which we sow in weakness, shall be raised in strength. From our sincere but houseless worship, there shall spring splendid temples to record God’s goodness ; from the simplicity of our social union, there shall arise wise and politic constitutions of government —

full of the liberty which we ourselves bring and breathe ; from our zeal for learning, institutions shall spring up, which shall scatter the light of knowledge throughout the land ; and in time, paying back where they have borrowed, shall contribute their part to the great aggregate of human knowledge ; and our descendants, through all generations, shall look back to this spot, and to this hour, with unabated affection and regard.

LOVE OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

They sought to enjoy a higher degree of religious freedom, and what they esteemed a purer form of religious worship, than was allowed to their choice or presented to their imitation in the old world. The love of religious liberty is a stronger sentiment, when fully excited, than an attachment to civil or political freedom. That freedom which conscience demands, and which men feel bound by their hopes of salvation to contend for, can hardly fail to be attained. Conscience in the cause of religion and the worship of the deity, prepares the mind to act and to suffer beyond almost all other causes. It sometimes gives an impulse so irresistible, that no fetters of power or of opinion can withstand it. History

instructs us that this love of religious liberty, a compound sentiment in the breast of man, made up of the clearest sense of right and the highest conviction of duty, is able to look the sternest despotism in the face ; and with means, apparently the most inadequate, to shake principalities and powers. There is a boldness, a spirit of daring, in religious reformers, not to be measured by the general rules which control men's purposes and actions. If the hand of power be laid upon it, this only seems to augment its force and its elasticity, and to cause its actions to be more formidable and terrible. Human invention has devised nothing, human power has compassed nothing, that can forcibly restrain it when it breaks forth. Nothing can stop it but to give way to it ; nothing can check it but indulgence. It loses its power only when it has gained its object. The principle of toleration, to which the world has come so slowly, is at once the most just and the most wise of all principles. Even when religious feeling takes a character of extravagance and enthusiasm, and seems to threaten the order of society, and shake the columns of the social edifice, its principal danger is in its restraint. If it be allowed indulgence and expansion, like the elemental fires, it only agitates,

and perhaps purifies the atmosphere, while its efforts to throw off restraint would burst the world asunder.

THE PILGRIMS IN ENGLAND.

As this scene passes before us, we can hardly forbear asking, whether this be a band of malefactors and felons flying from justice? What are their crimes, that they hide themselves in darkness? To what punishment are they exposed, that to avoid it, men, and women, and children, thus encounter the surf of the North Sea, and the terrors of a night storm? What induces this armed pursuit, and this arrest of fugitives, of all ages and of both sexes? Truth does not allow us to answer these inquiries, in a manner that does credit to the wisdom or the justice of the times. This was not the flight of guilt, but of virtue. It was an humble and peaceable religion, flying from causeless oppression. It was conscience, attempting to escape from the arbitrary rule of the Stuarts. It was Robinson, and Brewster, leading off their little band from their native soil, at first to find shelter on the shores of a neighboring continent, but ultimately to come hither; and having surmounted all difficulties, and braved a thousand dangers, to find here

a place of refuge and of rest. Thanks be to God, that this spot was honored as the asylum of religious liberty. May its standard, reared here, remain forever! — May it rise up as high as heaven, till its banners shall fan the air of both continents, and wave as a glorious ensign of peace and security to the nations.

MILITARY FAME.

Great actions and striking occurrences, having excited a temporary admiration, often pass away and are forgotten, because they leave no lasting results, affecting the prosperity and happiness of communities. Such is frequently the fortune of the most brilliant military achievements. Of the ten thousand battles which have been fought; of all the fields fertilized with carnage; of the banners which have been bathed in blood; of the warriors who had hoped that they had risen from the field of conquest to a glory as bright and as durable as the stars, how few that continue long to interest mankind! The victory of yesterday is reversed by the defeat of to-day; the star of military glory, rising like a meteor, like a meteor has fallen; disgrace and disaster hang on the heels of conquest and renown; victor and vanquished presently pass away to oblivion,

and the world goes on in its course, with the loss only of so many lives and so much treasure.

THE INFLUENCE OF MIND.

Cultivated mind was to act on uncultivated nature ; and, above all, a government, and a country, were to commence, with the very first foundations laid under the divine light of the Christian religion. Happy auspices of a happy futurity ! Who would wish that his country's existence had otherwise begun ? who would desire the power of going back to the ages of fable ? who would wish for an origin, obscured in the darkness of antiquity ? who would wish for other emblazoning of his country's heraldry, or other ornaments of her genealogy, than to be able to say, that her first existence was with intelligence ; her first breath the inspiration of liberty ; her first principles the truth of divine religion ?

THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

I deem it my duty on this occasion to suggest, that the land is not yet wholly free from the contamination of a traffic, at which every feeling of humanity must for ever revolt, — I mean the African Slave Trade. Neither public sentiment, nor the laws, has hitherto been able

entirely to put an end to this odious and abominable trade. At the moment when God, in his mercy, has blessed the Christian world with an universal peace, there is reason to fear, that to the disgrace of the Christian name and character, new efforts are making for the extension of this trade, by subjects and citizens of Christian states, in whose hearts no sentiment of humanity or justice inhabits, and over whom neither the fear of God nor the fear of man exercises a control. In the sight of our law, the African Slave Trader is a pirate and a felon ; and in the sight of heaven, an offender far beyond the ordinary depth of human guilt. There is no brighter part of our history, than that which records the measures which have been adopted by the government, at an early day, and at different times since, for the suppression of this traffic ; and I would call on all the true sons of New England, to co-operate with the laws of man, and the justice of heaven. If there be, within the extent of our knowledge or influence, any participation in this traffic, let us pledge ourselves here, upon the Rock of Plymouth, to extirpate and destroy it. It is not fit that the land of the Pilgrims should bear the shame longer. I hear the sound of the hammer, I see the smoke of the furnaces

where manacles and fetters are still forged for human limbs. I see the visages of those, who by stealth, and at midnight, labor in this work of hell, foul and dark, as may become the artificers of such instruments of misery and torture. Let that spot be purified, or let it cease to be of New England. Let it be purified, or let it be set aside from the Christian world ; let it be put out of the circles of human sympathies and human regards, and let civilized man henceforth have no communion with it.

I would invoke those who fill the seats of justice, and all who minister at her altar, that they execute the wholesome and necessary severity of the law. I invoke the ministers of our religion that they proclaim its denunciation of these crimes, and add its solemn sanctions to the authority of human laws. If the pulpit be silent, whenever, and wherever, there may be a sinner bloody with this guilt within the hearing of its voice, the pulpit is false to its trust. I call on the fair merchant, who has reaped his harvest on the seas, that he assist in scourging from those seas the worst pirates which ever infested them. That ocean, which seems to wave with a gentle magnificence to waft the burden of an honest commerce, and to roll along its treasures with a

conscious pride; that ocean which hardy industry regards, even when the winds have ruffled its surface, as a field of grateful toil; what is it to the victim of this oppression, when he is brought to its shores, and looks forth upon it, for the first time, from beneath chains, and bleeding with stripes? What is it to him, but a wide-spread prospect of suffering, anguish, and death? Nor do the skies smile longer, nor is the air longer fragrant to him. The sun is cast down from heaven. An inhuman and accursed traffic has cut him off in his manhood, or in his youth, from every enjoyment belonging to his being, and every blessing which his Creator intended for him.

The Christian communities send forth their emissaries of religion and letters, who stop, here and there, along the coast of the vast continent of Africa, and with painful and tedious efforts, make some almost imperceptible progress in the communication of knowledge, and in the general improvement of the natives who are immediately about them. Not thus slow and imperceptible is the transmission of the vices and bad passions which the subjects of Christian states carry to the land. The slave trade having touched the coast, its influence and its evils spread like

a pestilence over the whole continent, making savage wars more savage, and more frequent, and adding new and fierce passions to the contests of barbarians.

KNOWLEDGE.

A chief distinction of the present day, is a community of opinions and knowledge amongst men, in different nations, existing in a degree heretofore unknown. Knowledge has, in our time, triumphed, and is triumphing, over distance, over differences of language, over diversity of habits, over prejudice, and over bigotry. The civilized and Christian world is fast learning the great lesson, that differences of nation does not imply necessary hostility, and that all contact need not be war. The whole world is becoming a field for intellect to act in. Energy of mind, genius, power, wheresoever it exists, may speak out in any tongue, and the *world* will hear it. A great chord of sentiment and feeling runs through two continents, and vibrates over both. Every breeze wafts intelligence from country to country; every wave rolls it; all give it forth, and all, in turn, receive it. There is a vast commerce of ideas; there are marts and exchanges for intellectual discoveries, and a

wonderful fellowship of those individual intelligences, which make up the mind and opinion of the age. Mind is the great lever of all things; human thought is the process by which human ends are ultimately answered; and the diffusion of knowledge, so astonishing in the last half century, has rendered innumerable minds, variously gifted by nature, competent to be competitors, or fellow-workers, on the theatre of intellectual operation.

REVOLUTION.

The great wheel of political revolution began to move in America. Here its rotation was guarded, regular, and safe. Transferred to the other continent, from unfortunate but natural causes, it received an irregular and violent impulse; it whirled along, with a fearful celerity, till at length, like the chariot wheels in the races of antiquity, it took fire, from the rapidity of its own motion, and blazed onward, spreading conflagration and terror around.

ADAMS AND JEFFERSON.

Adams and Jefferson, I have said, are no more. As human beings, indeed, they are no more. They are no more, as in 1776, bold and

fearless advocates of independence ; no more, as on subsequent periods, the head of the government ; no more, as we have recently seen them, aged and venerable objects of admiration and regard. They are no more. They are dead. But how little is there of the great and good which can die ! To their country they yet live, and live for ever. They live in all that perpetuates the remembrance of men on earth ; in the recorded proofs of their own great actions — in the offspring of their intellect — in the deep engraved lines of public gratitude, and in the respect and homage of mankind. They live in their example ; and they live, emphatically, and will live, in the influence which their efforts, their principles, and opinions, now exercise, and will continue to exercise, on the affairs of men, not only in their own country, but throughout the civilized world. A superior and commanding human intellect, a truly great man, when heaven vouchsafes so rare a gift, is not a temporary flame, burning bright for awhile, and then expiring, giving place to returning darkness. It is rather a spark of fervent heat, as well as radiant light, with power to enkindle the common mass of human mind ; so that when it glimmers, in its own decay, and finally goes out

in death, no night follows, but it leaves the world all light, all on fire, from the potent contact of its own spirit. Bacon died; but the human understanding, roused by the touch of his miraculous wand, to a perception of the true philosophy, and the just mode of inquiring after truth, has kept on its course, successfully and gloriously. Newton died; yet the courses of the spheres are still known, and they yet move on, in the orbits which he saw, and described for them, in the infinity of space.

We are not assembled, therefore, fellow-citizens, as men overwhelmed by calamity, by the sudden disruption of the ties of friendship or affection, or as in despair for the republic, by the untimely blighting of its hopes. Death has not surprised us by an unseasonable blow. We have, indeed, seen the tomb close, but it has closed only over mature years — over long protracted public service — over the weakness of age, and over life itself, only when the ends of living had been fulfilled. These suns, as they rose steadily and slowly, amidst clouds and storms in their ascendant, so they have not rushed from their meridian, to sink suddenly in the west. Like the mildness, the serenity, the continuing benignity of a summer's day, they have

gone down with slow descending, grateful, long lingering light; and now, that they are beyond the visible margin of the world, good omens cheer us from "the bright track of their fiery car!"

TRUE ORATORY.

When public bodies are to be addressed on momentous occasions, when great interests are at stake, and strong passions excited, nothing is valuable in speech, farther than it is connected with high intellectual and moral endowments. Clearness, force, and earnestness, are the qualities which produce conviction. True eloquence, indeed, does not consist in speech. It cannot be brought from afar. Labor and learning may toil for it, but they will toil in vain. Words and phrases may be marshalled in every way, but they cannot compass it. It must exist in the man, in the subject, and in the occasion. Affect-ed passion, intense expression, the pomp of declamation, all may aspire after it — they cannot reach it. It comes, if it come at all, like the outbreking of a fountain from the earth, or the bursting forth of volcanic fires, with spontaneous, original, native force. The graces taught in the schools, the costly ornaments and studied con-

trivances of speech, shock and disgust men, when their own lives, and the fate of their wives, their children, and their country, hang on the decision of the hour. Then words have lost their power, rhetoric is vain, and all elaborate oratory contemptible. Even genius itself then feels rebuked, and subdued, as in the presence of higher qualities. Then patriotism is eloquent; then self-devotion is eloquent. The clear conception, outrunning the deductions of logic — the high purpose, the firm resolve, the dauntless spirit, speaking on the tongue, beaming from the eye, informing every feature, and urging the whole man onward, right onward to his object — this, this is eloquence; or, rather, it is something greater and higher than all eloquence — it is action — noble, sublime, and godlike action.

JEFFERSON.

Thus useful, and thus respected, passed the old age of Thomas Jefferson. But time was on its ever ceaseless wing, and was now bringing the last hour of this illustrious man. He saw its approach, with undisturbed serenity. He counted the moments as they passed, and beheld that his last sands were falling. That day, too, was at hand, which he had helped to make immortal.

One wish, one hope, if it were not presumptuous — beat in his fainting breast. Could it be so — might it please God — he would desire — once more to see the sun — once more to look abroad on the scene around him, on that great day of liberty. Heaven, in its mercy, fulfilled that prayer. — He saw that sun — he enjoyed its sacred light — he thanked God for his mercy, and bowed his aged head to the grave. “*Felix non vitæ tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis.*”

THE ILLUSTRIOUS DEAD.

Fellow-citizens, I will detain you no longer by this faint and feeble tribute to the memory of the illustrious dead. Even in other hands, adequate justice could not be performed, within the limits of this occasion. Their highest, their best praise, is your deep conviction of their merits, your affectionate gratitude for their labors and services. It is not my voice, it is this cessation of ordinary pursuits, this arresting of all attention, these solemn ceremonies, and this crowded house, which speak their eulogy. Their fame, indeed, is safe. That is now treasured up, beyond the reach of accident. Although no sculptured marble shall rise to their memory, nor en-

graved stone bear records of their deeds, yet will their remembrance be as lasting as the land they honored. Marble columns may, indeed, moulder into dust, time may erase all impress from the crumbling stone, but their fame remains ; for with American liberty it rose, and with American liberty only can it perish. It was the last swelling peal of yonder choir, "their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth evermore." I catch that solemn song. I echo that lofty strain of funeral triumph, "their name liveth evermore."

ANCESTRY.

There may be, and there often is, indeed, a regard for ancestry, which nourishes only a weak pride ; as there is also a care for posterity, which only disguises an habitual avarice, or hides the workings of a low and grovelling vanity. But there is also a moral and philosophical respect for our ancestors, which elevates the character and improves the heart. Next to the sense of religious duty and moral feeling, I hardly know what should bear with stronger obligation on a liberal and enlightened mind, than a consciousness of alliance with excellence which is departed ; and a consciousness, too, that in its acts and conduct,

and even in its sentiments and thoughts, it may be actively operating on the happiness of those who come after it. Poetry is found to have few stronger conceptions, by which it would affect or overwhelm the mind, than those in which it presents the moving and speaking image of the departed dead to the senses of the living. This belongs to poetry, only because it is congenial to our nature. Poetry is, in this respect, but the handmaid of true philosophy and morality ; it deals with us as human beings, naturally reverencing those whose visible connexion with this state of existence is severed, and who may yet exercise we know not what sympathy with ourselves ; — and when it carries us forward, also, and shows us the long continued result of all the good we do, in the prosperity of those who follow us, till it bears us from ourselves, and absorbs us in an intense interest for what shall happen to the generations after us, it speaks only in the language of our nature, and affects us with sentiments which belong to us as human beings.

Standing in this relation to our ancestors and our posterity, we are assembled on this memorable spot, to perform the duties which that relation, and the present occasion, impose upon us. We have come to this Rock, to record here our

homage for our Pilgrim Fathers ; our sympathy in their sufferings ; our gratitude for their labors ; our admiration of their virtues ; our veneration for their piety ; and our attachment to those principles of civil and religious liberty, which they encountered the dangers of the ocean, the storms of heaven, the violence of savages, disease, exile, and famine, to enjoy and to establish. And we would leave here, also, for the generations which are rising up rapidly to fill our places, some proof, that we have endeavored to transmit the great inheritance unimpaired ; that in our estimate of public principles, and private virtue ; in our veneration of religion and piety ; in our devotion to civil and religious liberty ; in our regard to whatever advances human knowledge, or improves human happiness, we are not altogether unworthy of our origin.

ANCIENT COLONIZATION.

Among the ancient nations, the Greeks, no doubt, sent forth from their territories the greatest number of colonies. So numerous, indeed, were they, and so great the extent of space over which they were spread, that the parent country fondly and naturally persuaded herself, that by means of them she had laid a sure foundation for

the universal civilization of the world. These establishments, from obvious causes, were most numerous in places most contiguous; yet they were found on the coasts of France, on the shores of the Euxine Sea, in Africa, and even, as is alleged, on the borders of India. These emigrations appear to have been sometimes voluntary, and sometimes compulsory; arising from the spontaneous enterprise of individuals, or the order and regulation of government. It was a common opinion with ancient writers, that they were undertaken in religious obedience to the commands of oracles; and it is probable that impressions of this sort might have had more or less influence; but it is probable, also, that on these occasions, the oracles did not speak a language dissonant from the views and purposes of the state.

Political science among the Greeks, seems never to have extended to the comprehension of a system, which should be adequate to the government of a great nation, upon principles of liberty. They were accustomed only to the contemplation of small republics, and were led to consider an augmented population as incompatible with free institutions. The desire of a remedy for this supposed evil, and the wish to

establish marts for trade, led the governments often to undertake the establishment of colonies, as an affair of state expediency. Colonization and commerce, indeed, would naturally become objects of interest to an ingenious and enterprising people, inhabiting a territory closely circumscribed in its limits, and in no small part, mountainous and sterile; while the islands of the adjacent seas, and promontories and coasts of the neighboring continents, by their mere proximity, strongly solicited the excited spirit of emigration. Such was this proximity, in many instances, that the new settlements appeared rather to be the mere extension of population over contiguous territory, than the establishment of distant colonies. In proportion as they were near to the parent state, they would be under its authority, and partake of its fortunes. The colony at Marseilles might perceive lightly, or not at all, the sway of Phocis; while the islands in the Egean Sea could hardly attain to independence of their Athenian origin. Many of these establishments took place at an early age; and if there were defects in the governments of the parent states, the colonists did not possess philosophy or experience sufficient to correct such evils in their own institutions, even if they had

not been, by other causes, deprived of the power. An immediate necessity, connected with the support of life, was the main and direct inducement to these undertakings, and there could hardly exist more than the hope of a successful imitation of institutions with which they were already acquainted, and of holding an equality with their neighbors, in the course of improvement. The laws and customs, both political and municipal, as well as the religious worship of the parent city, were transferred to the colony ; and the parent city herself, with all such of her colonies as were not too far remote for frequent intercourse, and common sentiments, would appear like a family of cities, more or less dependent, and more or less connected. We know how imperfect this system was, as a system of general politics, and what scope it gave to those mutual dissensions and conflicts, which proved so fatal to Greece.

But it is more pertinent to our present purpose, to observe that nothing existed in the character of Grecian emigrations, or in the spirit and intelligence of the emigrants, likely to give a new and important direction to human affairs, or a new impulse to the human mind. Their motives were not high enough, their views were

not sufficiently large and prospective. They went not forth, like our ancestors, to erect systems of more perfect civil liberty, or to enjoy a higher degree of religious freedom. Above all, there was nothing in the religion and learning of the age, that could either inspire high purposes, or give the ability to execute them. Whatever restraints on civil liberty, or whatever abuses in religious worship, existed at the time of our fathers' emigration, yet, even then, all was light in the moral and mental world, in comparison with its condition in most periods of the ancient states. The settlement of a new continent, in an age of progressive knowledge and improvement, could not but do more than merely enlarge the natural boundaries of the habitable world. It could not but do much more, even than extend commerce and increase wealth among the human race. We see how this event has acted, how it must have acted, and wonder only why it did not act sooner, in the production of moral effects on the state of human knowledge, the general tone of human sentiments, and the prospects of human happiness. It gave to civilized man, not only a new continent to be inhabited and cultivated, and new seas to be explored, but it gave him, also, a new range for his thoughts,

new objects for curiosity, and new excitements to knowledge and improvement.

Roman colonization resembled, far less than that of the Greeks, the original settlements of this country. Power and dominion were the objects of Rome, even in her colonial establishments. Her whole exterior aspect was, for centuries, hostile and terrific. She grasped at dominion, from India to Britain, and her measures of colonization partook of the character of her general system. Her policy was military, because her objects were power, ascendancy, and subjugation. Detachments of emigrants from Rome, incorporated themselves with, and governed the original inhabitants of conquered countries. She sent citizens where she had first sent soldiers; her law followed her sword. Her colonies were a sort of military establishment; so many advanced posts in the career of her dominion. A governor from Rome ruled the new colony with absolute sway, and often with unbounded rapacity. In Sicily, in Gaul, in Spain, and in Asia, the power of Rome prevailed, not nominally only, but really and effectually. Those who immediately exercised it were Roman; the tone and tendency of its administration, Roman. Rome herself continued to be the

heart and centre of the great system which she had established. Extortion and rapacity, finding a wide, and often rich, field of action in the provinces, looked, nevertheless, to the banks of the Tiber, as the scene in which their ill-gotten treasures should be displayed; or if a spirit of more honest acquisition prevailed, the object, nevertheless, was ultimate enjoyment in Rome itself. If our own history, and our own times, did not sufficiently expose the inherent and incurable evils of provincial government, we might see them portrayed, to our amazement, in the desolated and ruined provinces of the Roman empire. We might hear them, in a voice that terrifies us, in those strains of complaint and accusation which the advocates of the provinces poured forth in the Roman Forum — “ *Quas res luxuries in flagitiis, crudelitas in suppliciis, avaritia in rapinis, superbia in contumeliis, efficere potuisset, eas omneis sese pertulisse.*”

As was to be expected, the Roman Provinces partook of the fortunes as well as of the sentiments and general character of the seat of empire. They lived together with her, they flourished with her, and fell with her. The branches were lopped away, even before the vast and venerable trunk itself fell prostrate to the earth.

Nothing had proceeded from her which could support itself, and bear up the name of its origin, when her own sustaining arm should be enfeebled or withdrawn. It was not given to Rome to see, either at her zenith, or in her decline, a child of her own, distant indeed, and independent of her control, yet speaking her language and inheriting her blood, springing forward to a competition with her own power, and a comparison with her own great renown. She saw not a vast region of the earth, peopled from her stock, full of states and political communities, improving upon the models of her institutions, and breathing, in fuller measure, the spirit which she had breathed in the best periods of her existence; enjoying and extending her arts and her literature; rising rapidly from political childhood to manly strength and independence; her offspring, yet now her equal; unconnected with the causes which might affect the duration of her own power and greatness; of common origin, but not linked to a common fate; giving ample pledge that her name should not be forgotten — that her language should not cease to be used among men; that whatsoever she had done for human knowledge and human happiness, should be treasured up and preserved;

that the record of her existence, and her achievements, should not be obscured, although, in the inscrutable purposes of Providence, it might be her destiny to fall from opulence and splendor; although the time might come, when darkness should settle on all her hills; when foreign or domestic violence should overturn her altars and her temples; when ignorance and despotism should fill the places where Laws, and Arts, and Liberty had flourished; when the feet of barbarism should trample on the tombs of her consuls, and the walls of her senate house and forum echo only to the voice of savage triumph. She saw not this glorious vision, to inspire and fortify her against the possible decay or downfall of her power. Happy are they, who in our day may behold it, if they shall contemplate it with the sentiments which it ought to inspire!

PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT.

The true principle of a free and popular government, would seem to be, so to construct it, as to give to all, or at least to a very great majority, an interest in its preservation: to found it, as other things are founded, on men's interest. The stability of government requires that those who desire its continuance should be more pow-

erful than those who desire its dissolution. This power, of course, is not always to be measured by mere numbers. Education, wealth, talents, are all parts and elements of the general aggregate of power ; but numbers, nevertheless, constitute ordinarily the most important consideration, unless indeed there be a *military force*, in the hands of the few, by which they can control the many. In this country we have actually existing systems of government, in the maintenance of which, it should seem, a great majority, both in numbers and in other means of power and influence, must see their interest. But this state of things is not brought about solely by written political constitutions, or the mere manner of organizing the government ; but also by the laws which regulate the descent and transmission of property. The freest government, if it could exist, would not be long acceptable, if the tendency of the laws were to create a rapid accumulation of property in few hands, and to render the great mass of the population dependent and penniless. In such a case, the popular power would be likely to break in upon the rights of property, or else the influence of property to limit and control the exercise of popular power. Universal suffrage, for example, could not long

exist in a community, where there was great inequality of property. The holders of estates would be obliged, in such case, either, in some way, to restrain the right of suffrage ; or else such right of suffrage would, long before, divide the property. In the nature of things, those who have not property, and see their neighbors possess much more than they think them to need, cannot be favorable to laws made for the protection of property. When this class becomes numerous, it grows clamorous. It looks on property as its prey and plunder, and is naturally ready, at all times, for violence and revolution.

It would seem, then, to be the part of political wisdom, to found government on property ; and to establish such distribution of property, by the laws which regulate its transmission and alienation, as to interest the great majority of society in the support of the government. This is, I imagine, the true theory and the actual practice of our republican institutions. With property divided, as we have it, no other government than that of a republic could be maintained, even were we foolish enough to desire it. There is reason, therefore, to expect a long continuance of our systems. Party and passion, doubtless, may prevail at times, and much temporary mis-

chief be done. Even modes and forms may be changed, and perhaps for the worse. But a great revolution, in regard to property, must take place, before our governments can be moved from their republican basis, unless they be violently struck off by military power. The people possess the property, more emphatically than it could ever be said of the people of any other country, and they can have no interest to overturn a government which protects that property by equal laws.

Let it not be supposed, that this state of things possesses too strong tendencies towards the production of a dead and uninteresting level in society. Such tendencies are sufficiently counteracted by the infinite diversities in the characters and fortunes of individuals. Talent, activity, industry, and enterprise, tend at all times to produce inequality and distinction; and there is room still for the accumulation of wealth, with its great advantages, to all reasonable and useful extent. It has been often urged against the state of society in America, that it furnishes no class of men of fortune and leisure. This may be partly true, but it is not entirely so; and the evil, if it be one, would affect rather the progress of taste and literature, than the general prosperity

of the people. But the promotion of taste and literature cannot be primary objects of political institutions ; and if they could, it might be doubted, whether, in the long course of things, as much is not gained by a wide diffusion of general knowledge, as is lost by abridging the number of those whom fortune and leisure enable to devote themselves exclusively to scientific and literary pursuits. However this may be, it is to be considered that it is the spirit of our system to be equal, and general, and if there be particular disadvantages incident to this, they are far more than counterbalanced by the benefits which weigh against them. The important concerns of society are generally conducted, in all countries, by the men of business and practical ability ; and even in matters of taste and literature, the advantages of mere leisure are liable to be overrated. If there exists adequate means of education, and the love of letters be excited, that love will find its way to the object of its desire, through the crowd and pressure of the most busy society.

LOVE OF COUNTRY.

We do not read even of the discovery of this continent, without feeling something of a personal interest in the event ; without being re-

mind how much it has affected our own fortunes, and our own existence. It is more impossible for us, therefore, than for others, to contemplate with unaffected minds that interesting, I may say, that most touching and pathetic scene, when the great Discoverer of America stood on the deck of his shattered bark, the shades of night falling on the sea, yet no man sleeping; tossed on the billows of an unknown ocean, yet the stronger billows of alternate hope and despair tossing his own troubled thoughts; extending forward his harrassed frame, straining westward his anxious and eager eyes, till Heaven at last granted him a moment of rapture and ecstasy, in blessing his vision with the sight of the unknown world.

Nearer to our times, more closely connected with our fates, and therefore still more interesting to our feelings and affections, is the settlement of our own country by colonists from England. We cherish every memory of these worthy ancestors; we celebrate their patience and fortitude; we admire their daring enterprise; we teach our children to venerate their piety; and we are justly proud of being descended from men, who have set the world an example of founding civil institutions on the great and uni-

ted principles of human freedom and human knowledge. To us, their children, the story of their labors and sufferings can never be without its interest. We shall not stand unmoved on the shore of Plymouth, while the sea continues to wash it; nor will our brethren in another early and ancient colony, forget the place of its first establishment, till their river shall cease to flow by it. No vigor of youth, no maturity of manhood, will lead the nation to forget the spots where its infancy was cradled and defended.

ELOQUENCE OF ADAMS.

“Let us pause! This step, once taken, cannot be retraced. This resolution, once passed, will cut off all hope of reconciliation. If success attend the arms of England, we shall then be no longer colonies, with charters, and with privileges; these will all be forfeited by this act; and we shall be in the condition of other conquered people, at the mercy of the conquerors. For ourselves, we may be ready to run the hazard; but are we ready to carry the country to that length? Is success so probable as to justify it? Where is the military, where the naval power, by which we are to resist the whole strength of the arm of England, for she will exert that

strength to the utmost? Can we rely on the constancy and perseverance of the people; or will they not act, as the people of other countries have acted, and, wearied with a long war, submit, in the end, to a worse oppression? While we stand on our old ground, and insist on redress of grievances, we know we are right, and are not answerable for consequences. Nothing, then, can be imputable to us. But if we now change our object, carry our pretensions farther, and set up for absolute independence, we shall lose the sympathy of mankind. We shall no longer be defending what we possess, but struggling for something which we never did possess, and which we have solemnly and uniformly disclaimed all intention of pursuing, from the very outset of the troubles. Abandoning thus our old ground of resistance only to arbitrary acts of oppression, the nations will believe the whole to have been mere pretence, and they will look on us, not as injured, but as ambitious, subjects. I shudder, before this responsibility. It will be on us, if relinquishing the ground we have stood on so long, and stood on so safely, we now proclaim independence, and carry on the war for that object, while these cities burn, these pleasant fields whiten and bleach with the bones of their

owners, and these streams run blood. It will be upon us, it will be upon us, if failing to maintain this unseasonable and ill-judged declaration, a sterner despotism, maintained by military power, shall be established over our posterity, when we ourselves, given up by an exhausted, a harassed, a misled people, shall have expiated our rashness, and atoned for our presumption on the scaffold."

It was for Mr. Adams to reply to arguments like these. We know his opinions, and we know his character. He would commence with his accustomed directness and earnestness.

"Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I give my hand and my heart to this vote. It is true, indeed, that in the beginning, we aimed not at independence. But there's a Divinity which shapes our ends. The injustice of England has driven us to arms — and, blinded to her own interest for our good, she has obstinately persisted, till independence is now within our grasp. We have but to reach forth to it, and it is ours. Why then should we defer the declaration? Is any man so weak as now to hope for a reconciliation with England, which shall leave either safety to the country and its liberties, or safety to his own life, and his own honor? Are

not you, sir, who sit in that chair, is not he, our venerable colleague near you, are you not both already the proscribed and predestined objects of punishment and of vengeance ? Cut off from all hope of royal clemency, what are you, what can you be, while the power of England remains, but outlaws ? If we postpone independence, do we mean to carry on, or to give up the war ? Do we mean to submit to the measures of parliament, Boston port bill and all ? Do we mean to submit, and consent that we, ourselves, shall be ground to powder, and our country and its rights trodden down in the dust ? I know we do not mean to submit. We never shall submit. Do we intend to violate that most solemn obligation ever entered into by men ; that plighting, before God, of our sacred honor to Washington, when putting him forth to incur the dangers of war, as well as the political hazards of the times, we promised to adhere to him, in every extremity, with our fortunes and our lives ? I know there is not a man here, who would not rather see a general conflagration sweep over the land, or an earthquake sink it, than one jot or tittle of that plighted faith fall to the ground. For myself, having, twelve months ago, in this place, moved you, that George Washington be appointed

commander of the forces, raised or to be raised, for defence of American liberty, may my right hand forget her cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I hesitate or waver in the support I give him. The war, then, must go on. We must fight it through. And if the war must go on, why put off longer the Declaration of Independence? That measure will strengthen us. It will give us character abroad. The nations will then treat with us, which they never can do while we acknowledge ourselves subjects, in arms against our sovereign. Nay, I maintain that England, herself, will sooner treat for peace with us on the footing of independence, than consent, by repealing her acts, to acknowledge that her whole conduct towards us has been a course of injustice and oppression. Her pride will be less wounded, by submitting to that course of things which now predestinates our independence, than by yielding the point in controversy to her rebellious subjects. The former she would regard as the result of fortune; the latter she would feel as her own deep disgrace. Why then, why then, sir, do we not, as soon as possible, change this from a civil to a national war? And, since we must fight it

through, why not put ourselves in a state to enjoy all the benefits of victory, if we gain the victory?

“If we fail, it can be no worse for us. But we shall not fail. The cause will raise up armies; the cause will create navies. The people, the people, if we are true to them, will carry us, and will carry themselves, gloriously, through this struggle. I care not how fickle other people have been found. I know the people of these colonies, and I know that resistance to British aggression is deep and settled in their hearts, and cannot be eradicated. Every colony, indeed, has expressed its willingness to follow, if we but take the lead. Sir, the declaration will inspire the people with increased courage. Instead of a long and bloody war for restoration of privileges, for redress of grievances, for chartered immunities, held under a British king, set before them the glorious object of entire independence, and it will breathe into them anew the breath of life. Read this declaration at the head of the army—every sword will be drawn from its scabbard, and the solemn vow uttered to maintain it, or to perish on the bed of honor. Publish it from the pulpit; religion will approve it, and the love of religious liberty will cling round it, resolved to stand with it, or fall with it. Send

it to the public halls ; proclaim it there ; let them hear it, who heard the first roar of the enemy's cannon ; let them see it, who saw their brothers and their sons fall on the field of Bunker Hill, and in the streets of Lexington and Concord, and the very walls will cry out in its support.

“ Sir, I know the uncertainty of human affairs, but I see, I see clearly through this day's business. You and I, indeed, may rue it. We may not live to the time when this declaration shall be made good. We may die ; die colonists ; die slaves ; die, it may be, ignominiously, and on the scaffold. Be it so. Be it so. If it be the pleasure of Heaven that my country shall require the poor offering of my life, the victim shall be ready, at the appointed hour of sacrifice, come when that hour may. But while I do live, let me have a country, or, at least, the hope of a country, and that a free country.

“ But whatever may be our fate, be assured, be assured, that this declaration will stand. It may cost treasure, and it may cost blood ; but it will stand, and it will richly compensate for both. Through the thick gloom of the present, I see the brightness of the future, as the sun in heaven. We shall make this a glorious, an immortal day. When we are in our graves, our chil-

dren will honor it. They will celebrate it, with thanksgiving, with festivity, with bonfires, and illuminations. On its annual return, they will shed tears, copious, gushing tears, not of subjection and slavery, not of agony and distress, but of exultation, of gratitude, and of joy. Sir, before God, I believe the hour is come. My judgment approves this measure, and my whole heart is in it. All that I have, and all that I am, and all that I hope in this life, I am now ready here to stake upon it; and I leave off, as I begun, that live or die, survive or perish, I am for the declaration. It is my living sentiment, and, by the blessing of God, it shall be my dying sentiment; independence *now*; and INDEPENDENCE FOR EVER."

And so that day shall be honored, illustrious prophet and patriot! so that day shall be honored, and as often as it returns, thy renown shall come along with it, and the glory of thy life, like the day of thy death, shall not fail from the remembrance of men.

ASSUMED LITERARY CHARACTER.

Literature sometimes, and pretensions to it much oftener, disgusts, by appearing to hang loosely on the character, like something foreign or extraneous, not a part, but an ill-adjusted ap-

pendage ; or, by seeming to overload and weigh it down, by its unsightly bulk, like the productions of bad taste in architecture, where there is massy and cumbrous ornament, without strength or solidity of column. This has exposed learning, and, especially, classical learning, to reproach. Men have seen that it might exist, without mental superiority, without vigor, without good taste, and without utility. But, in such cases, classical learning has only not inspired natural talent ; or, at most, it has but made original feebleness of intellect, and natural bluntness of perception, something more conspicuous. The question, after all, if it be a question, is, whether literature, ancient as well as modern, does not assist a good understanding, improve natural good taste, add polished armor to native strength, and render its possessor, not only more capable of deriving private happiness from contemplation and reflection, but more accomplished, also, for action in the affairs of life, and, especially, for public action. Those whose memories we now honor, were learned men ; but their learning was kept in its proper place, and made subservient to the uses and objects of life. They were scholars, not common, nor superficial ; but their scholarship was so in keeping with their

character, so blended and inwrought, that careless observers, or bad judges, not seeing an ostentatious display of it, might infer that it did not exist; forgetting, or not knowing, that classical learning, in men who act in conspicuous public stations, perform duties which exercise the faculty of writing, or address popular, deliberative, or judicial bodies, is often felt, where it is little seen, and sometimes felt more effectually, because it is not seen at all.

ADAMS.

We did not, we could not here, forget our venerable neighbor of Quincy. We knew that we were standing, at a time of high and palmy prosperity, where he had stood, in the hour of utmost peril; that we saw nothing but liberty and security, where he had met the frown of power; that we were enjoying every thing, where he had hazarded every thing; and just and sincere plaudits rose to his name, from the crowds which filled this area, and hung over these galleries. He whose grateful duty it was to speak to us, on that day, of the virtues of our fathers, had, indeed, admonished us that time and years were about to level his venerable frame with the dust. But he bade us hope, that “the sound of a na-

tion's joy, rushing from our cities, ringing from our valleys, echoing from our hills, might yet break the silence of his aged ear ; that the rising blessings of grateful millions might yet visit, with glad light, his decaying vision." Alas ! that vision was then closing for ever. Alas ! the silence which was then settling on that aged ear, was an everlasting silence ! For, lo ! in the very moment of our festivities, his freed spirit ascended to God who gave it ! Human aid and human solace terminate at the grave ; or we would gladly have borne him upward, on a nation's outspread hands ; we would have accompanied him, and with the blessings of millions and the prayers of millions, commended him to the Divine favor.

THE DUTY OF CITIZENS.

And now, fellow-citizens, let us not retire from this occasion, without a deep and solemn conviction of the duties which have devolved upon us. This lovely land, this glorious liberty, these benign institutions, the dear purchase of our fathers, are ours ; ours to enjoy, ours to preserve, ours to transmit. Generations past, and generations to come, hold us responsible for the sacred trust. Our fathers, from behind, admonish us, with

their anxious paternal voices — posterity calls out to us, from the bosom of the future — the world turns hither its solicitous eye ; — all, all conjure us to act wisely and faithfully — in the relation which we sustain. We can never, indeed, pay the debt which is upon us ; but by virtue, by morality, by religion, by the cultivation of every good principle and every good habit, we may hope to enjoy the blessing, through our day, and leave it unimpaired to our children. Let us feel deeply how much, of what we are and of what we possess, we owe to this liberty, and these institutions of government. Nature has, indeed, given us a soil, which yields bounteously to the hand of industry ; the mighty and fruitful ocean is before us, and the skies over our heads shed health and vigor. But what are lands, and seas, and skies, to civilized man, without society, without knowledge, without morals, without religious culture ; and how can these be enjoyed, in all their extent, and all their excellence, but under the protection of wise institutions and a free government ? Fellow-citizens, there is not one of us, there is not one of us here present, who does not, at this moment, and at every moment, experience, in his own condition, and in the condition of those most near and dear to him,

the influence and the benefits of this liberty, and these institutions. Let us then acknowledge the blessing, let us feel it deeply and powerfully, let us cherish a strong affection for it, and resolve to maintain and perpetuate it. The blood of our fathers, let it not have been shed in vain ; the great hope of posterity, let it not be blasted.

SITUATION OF AMERICA.

It is not to inflate national vanity, nor to swell a light and empty feeling of self-importance ; but it is that we may judge justly of our situation, and of our own duties, that I earnestly urge this consideration of our position and our character, among the nations of the earth. It cannot be denied, but by those who would dispute against the sun, that with America, and in America, a new era commences in human affairs. This era is distinguished by free representative governments, by entire religious liberty, by improved systems of national intercourse, by a newly-awakened and an unconquerable spirit of free inquiry, and by a diffusion of knowledge through the community, such as has been before altogether unknown or unheard of. America, America, our country, fellow-citizens, our own dear and native land, is inseparably connected, fast bound

up, in fortune and by fate, with these great interests ; if they fall, we fall with them ; if they stand, it will be because we have upholden them. Let us contemplate, then, this connexion, which binds the prosperity of others to our own ; and let us manfully discharge all the duties which it imposes. If we cherish the virtues and the principles of our fathers, Heaven will assist us to carry on the work of human liberty and human happiness. Auspicious omens cheer us. Great examples are before us. Our own firmament now shines brightly upon our path. WASHINGTON is in the clear upper sky. These other stars have now joined the American constellation ; they circle round their centre, and the heavens beam with new light. Beneath this illumination, let us walk the course of life, and at its close devoutly commend our beloved country, the common parent of us all, to the Divine benignity.

IMPORTANCE OF JUSTICE.

The respondent has as deep a stake, no doubt, in this trial, as he can well have in any thing which does not affect his life. Regard for reputation, love of honorable character, affection for those who must suffer with him, if he suffers, and

who will feel your sentence of conviction, if you should pronounce one, fall on their heads, as it falls on his; cannot but excite in his breast an anxiety which nothing could well increase, and nothing but a consciousness of upright intention, could enable him to endure. Yet, sir, a few years will carry him far beyond the reach of the consequences of this trial. Those same years will bear away also, in their rapid flight, those who prosecute, and those who judge him. But the community remains. The commonweath, we trust, will be perpetual. She is yet in her youth, as a free and independent state, and, in analogy to the life of individuals, may be said to be in that period of existence, when principles of action are adopted, and character is formed. The respondent will not be the principal sufferer, if he should here fall a victim to charges of undefined and undefinable offences, to loose notions of constitutional law, or novel rules of evidence. By the necessary retribution of things, the evil of such a course will fall most heavily on the state which should pursue it, by shaking its character for justice, and impairing its principles of constitutional liberty.

EXTERNAL NATURE.

The visible and tangible creation in which we are introduced at our birth, is not, in all its parts, fixed and stationary. Motion, or change of place, regular, or occasional, belongs to all or most of the things which are around us. Animal life every where moves; the earth itself has its motion, and its complexities of motion; the ocean heaves and subsides; rivers run lingering or rushing to the sea; and the air which we breathe, moves and acts with mighty power. Motion, thus pertaining to the physical objects which surround us, is the exhaustless fountain whence philosophy draws the means by which, in various degrees, and endless forms, natural agencies, and the tendencies of inert matter, are brought to the succor and assistance of human strength. It is the object of mechanical contrivance to modify motion, to produce it in new forms, to direct it to new purposes; to multiply its uses; by means of it to do better that which human strength could do without its aid — and to perform that, also, which such strength, unassisted by art, could not perform.

MATHEMATICAL SCIENCE.

But, doubtless, the reasoning faculty, the

mind, is the leading characteristic attribute of the human race. By the exercise of this, he arrives at the knowledge of the properties of natural bodies. This is science, properly and emphatically so called. It is the science of pure mathematics ; and, in the high branches of this science, lies the true sublime of human acquisition. If any attainments deserve that epithet, it is the knowledge, which, from the mensuration of the minutest dust of the balance, proceeds on the rising scale of material bodies every where weighing, every where measuring, every where detecting and explaining the laws of force and motion ; penetrating into the secret principles which hold the universe of God together, and balancing world against world, and system against system. When we seek to accompany those, who pursue their studies, at once so high, so vast, and so exact ; when we arrive at the discoveries of Newton, which pour in day on the works of God, as if a second *fiat* for light had gone forth from his own mouth ; when, farther, we attempt to follow those who set out where Newton paused, making his goal their starting-place, and proceeding, with demonstration upon demonstration, and discovery upon discovery, bring new worlds, and new systems of worlds, within

the limits of the known universe, failing to learn all, only because all is infinite ; however, we say of man, in admiration of his physical structure, that “in form and moving he is express and admirable ;” it is here, and here without irreverence, we may exclaim, “in apprehension, how like a God !” It is to be remembered, that pure mathematics lie at the foundation of mechanical philosophy, and it is ignorance, only, which can speak or think of that sublime science as useless research, or barren speculation.

CHARACTER OF A MURDERER.

Truly, here is a new lesson for painters and poets. Whoever shall hereafter draw the portrait of murder, if he will show it as it has been exhibited in an example, where such example was last to have been looked for, in the very bosom of our New England Society, let him not give it the grim visage of Moloch, the brow knitted by revenge, the face black with settled hate, and the blood-shot eye, emitting livid fires of malice. Let him draw, rather, a decorous, smooth-faced, bloodless demon ; a picture in *repose*, rather than in action ; not so much an example of human nature in its depravity, and in its paroxysms of *crime*, as an infernal nature,

a fiend in the ordinary display and development of his character.

DESCRIPTION OF A MURDER.

The deed was executed with a degree of self-possession and steadiness, equal to the wickedness with which it was planned. Deep sleep had fallen on the destined victim, and on all beneath his roof. A healthful old man, to whom sleep was sweet; the first sound slumbers of the night held him in their soft but strong embrace. The assassin enters through a window already prepared, into an unoccupied apartment. With noiseless foot he paces the lonely hall, half lighted by the moon; he winds up the ascent of the stairs, and reaches the door of the chamber. Of this he moves the lock, by soft and continued pressure, till it turns on its hinges without noise, and he enters, and beholds his victim before him. The room was uncommonly open to the admission of light. The face of the innocent sleeper was turned from the murderer, and the beams of the moon, resting on the gray locks of his aged temple, showed him where to strike. The fatal blow is given! and the victim passes, without a struggle or a motion, from the repose of sleep to the repose of death! It is the assassin's

purpose to make sure work ; and he yet plies the dagger, though it was obvious that life had been destroyed by the blow of the bludgeon. He even raises the aged arm, that he may not fail in his aim at the heart, and replaces it again over the wounds of the poniard ! To finish the picture, he explores the wrist for the pulse ! He feels for it, and ascertains that it beats no longer ! It is accomplished — the deed is done. He retreats — retraces his steps to the window, passes out through it as he came in, and escapes. He has done the murder ; no eye has seen him — no ear has heard him. The *secret* is his own, and it is safe !

CONSCIENCE.

Ah ! gentlemen, that was a dreadful mistake. Such a secret is safe nowhere. The whole creation of God has neither nook nor corner where the guilty can bestow it, and say it is safe. Not to speak of that eye which glances through all disguises, and beholds every thing, as in the splendor of noon — such secrets of guilt are never safe from detection, even by men. True it is, generally speaking, that “murder will out.” True it is, indeed, that Providence has so ordained, and doth so govern things, that those who

break the great law of heaven, by shedding man's blood, seldom succeed in avoiding discovery. Especially, in a case exciting so much attention as this, discovery must come, and will come, sooner or later. A thousand eyes turn at once to explore every man, every thing, every circumstance connected with the time and place; a thousand ears catch every whisper; a thousand excited minds intensely dwell on the scene, shedding all their light, and ready to kindle the slightest circumstance into a blaze of discovery. Meantime, the guilty soul cannot keep its own secret. It is false to itself; or, rather, it feels an irresistible impulse of conscience to be true to itself. It labors under its guilty possession, and knows not what to do with it. The human heart was not made for the residence of such an inhabitant. It finds itself preyed on by a torment, which it dares not acknowledge to God nor man. A vulture is devouring it, and it can ask no sympathy or assistance, either from heaven or earth. The secret which the murderer possesses, soon comes to possess him; and, like the evil spirits of which we read, it overcomes him, and leads him whithersoever it will. He feels it beating at his heart, rising to his throat, and demanding disclosure. He thinks the whole world sees it

in his face, reads it in his eyes, and almost hears its workings in the very silence of his thoughts. It has become his master. It betrays his discretion, it breaks down his courage, it conquers his prudence. When suspicions from without begin to embarrass him, and the net of circumstance to entangle him, the fatal secret struggles with still greater violence to burst forth. It must be confessed, it will be confessed ; there is no refuge from confession but suicide, and suicide is confession.

SPLENDID VICES.

Such is human nature, that some persons lose their abhorrence of crime, in their admiration of its magnificent exhibitions. Ordinary vice is reprobated by them ; but extraordinary guilt, exquisite wickedness, the high flights and poetry of crime, seize on the imagination, and lead them to forget the depths of guilt, in admiration of the excellence of the performance, or the unequalled atrocity of the purpose. There are those, in our day, who have made great use of this infirmity of our nature — and, by means of it, done infinite injury to the cause of good morals. They have affected, not only the taste, but, I fear, also, the principles of the young, the heedless, and

the imaginative, by the exhibition of interesting and beautiful monsters. They render depravity attractive, sometimes by the polish of its manners, and sometimes by its very extravagance ; and study to show off crime under all the advantages of cleverness and dexterity.

DUTY.

Gentlemen, your whole concern should be to do your duty, and leave consequences to take care of themselves. You will receive the law from the court. Your verdict, it is true, may endanger the prisoner's life ; but, then, it is to save other lives. With consciences satisfied with the discharge of duty, no consequences can harm you. There is no evil that we cannot either face or fly from, but the consciousness of duty disregarded. A sense of duty pursues us ever. It is omnipresent, like the Deity. If we take to ourselves the wings of the morning, and dwell in the utmost parts of the seas, duty performed, or duty violated, is still with us, for our happiness or our misery. If we say the darkness shall cover us, in the darkness, as in the light, our obligations are yet with us. We cannot escape their power, nor fly from their presence. They are with us in this life, will be

with us at its close ; and, in that scene of inconceivable solemnity, which lies yet farther onward, we shall still find ourselves surrounded by the consciousness of duty, to pain us, wherever it has been violated, and to console us, so far as God may have given us grace to perform it.

THE JUDICIAL OFFICE.

But further, sir, I must take the liberty of saying, that, in regard to the judicial office, constancy of employment is of itself, in my judgment, a good, and a great good. I appeal to the conviction of the whole profession, if, as a general observation, they do not find that those who decide most causes, decide them best. Exercise strengthens and sharpens the faculties, in this, more than almost any other employment. I would have the judicial office filled by him who is wholly a judge, always a judge, and nothing but a judge. With proper seasons, of course, for recreation and repose, his serious thoughts should all be turned to his official duties ; he should be *omnis in hoc*. I think, sir, there is hardly a greater mistake, than has prevailed occasionally in some of the states, of creating many judges, assigning them duties which occupy but a small part of

their time, and then making this the ground for allowing them a small compensation. The judicial office is incompatible with any other pursuit in life, and all the faculties of every man who takes it, ought to be constantly exercised, and exercised to one end.

IMPORTANCE OF CHARACTER.

The fate of the respondent is in your hands. It is for you now to say, whether, from the law and the facts as they have appeared before you, you will proceed to disgrace and disfranchise him. If your duty calls on you to convict him, convict him, and let justice be done ! but I adjure you let it be a clear, undoubted case. Let it be so for his sake, for you are robbing him of that, for which, with all your high powers, you can yield him no compensation ; let it be so for your ownsakes, for the responsibility of this day's judgment is one, which you must carry with you through your life. For myself, I am willing here to relinquish the character of an advocate, and to express opinions by which I am willing to be bound, as a citizen of the community. Sir, the prejudices of the day will soon be forgotten ; the passions, if any there be, which have excited or favored this prosecution, will subside ; but the

consequence of the judgment you are about to render, will outlive them and you. The respondent is now brought, a single, unprotected individual, to this formidable bar of judgment, to stand against the power and authority of the state. I know you can crush him, as he stands before you, and clothed, as you are, with the sovereignty of the state. You have the power to "change his countenance, and to send him away." Nor do I remind you that your judgment is to be rejudged by the community; and as you have summoned him for trial to this high tribunal, you are soon to descend yourselves from these seats of justice, and stand before the higher tribunal of the world. I would not fail so much in respect to this honorable court, as to hint that it could pronounce a sentence which the community would reverse. No, sir, it is not the world's revision, which I would call on you to regard; but that of your own consciences when years have gone by, and you shall look back on the sentence you are about to render. If you send away the respondent, condemned and sentenced, from your bar, you are yet to meet him in the world, on which you cast him out. You will be called to behold him a disgrace to his family, a sorrow and a shame to his children, a living fountain of grief

and agony to himself. If you shall then be able to behold him only as an unjust judge, whom vengeance has overtaken, and justice has blasted, you will be able to look upon him, not without pity, but yet without remorse. But if, on the other hand, you shall see, whenever and wherever you meet him, a victim of prejudice or of passion, a sacrifice to a transient excitement ; if you shall see in him, a man, for whose condemnation any provision of the constitution has been violated, or any principle of law broken down ; then will he be able, humble and low as may be his condition — then will he be able to turn the current of compassion backward, and to look with pity on those who have been his judges. If you are about to visit this respondent with a judgment which shall blast his house ; if the bosoms of the innocent and the amiable are to be made to bleed, under your infliction, I beseech you to be able to state clear and strong grounds for your proceedings. Prejudice and excitement are transitory, and will pass away. Political expediency, in matters of judicature, is a false and hollow principle, and will never satisfy the conscience of him who is fearful that he may have given a hasty judgment. I earnestly intreat you, for your own

sakes, to possess yourselves of solid reasons, founded in truth and justice, for the judgment which you pronounce, which you can carry with you, till you go down into your graves ; reasons, which it will require no argument to revive, no sophistry, no excitement, no regard to popular favor, to render satisfactory to your consciences ; reasons which you can appeal to, in every crisis of your lives, and which shall be able to assure you, in your own great extremity, that you have not judged a fellow creature without mercy.

Sir, I have done with the case of this individual, and now leave him in your hands. But I would yet once more appeal to you as public men ; as statesmen ; as men of enlightened minds, capable of a large view of things, and of foreseeing the remote consequences of important transactions ; and, as such, I would most earnestly implore you to consider fully of the judgment you may pronounce. You are about to give a construction to constitutional provisions, which may adhere to that instrument for ages, either for good or evil. I may, perhaps, overrate the importance of this occasion to the public welfare ; but I confess it does appear to me, that if this body give its sanction to some of the principles which have been advanced on this occasion, then

there is a power in the state above the constitution and the law ; a power most essentially arbitrary and concentrated, the exercise of which may be most dangerous. If the full benefit of every constitutional provision be not extended to the respondent, his case becomes the case of all the people of the Commonwealth. The constitution is their constitution. They have made it for their own protection, and for his among the rest. They are not eager for his conviction. They are not thirsting for his blood. If he be condemned, without having his offences set forth, in the manner which they, by their constitution have prescribed, and proved, in the manner which they by their laws have ordained, then, not only is he condemned unjustly, but the rights of the whole people disregarded. For the sake of the people themselves, therefore, I would resist all attempts to convict, by straining the laws, or getting over their prohibitions. I hold up before him the broad shield of the constitution ; if through that he be pierced and fall, he will be but one sufferer, in a common catastrophe.

JOHN JAY.

Your recollections, gentlemen, your respect, and your affections, all conspire to bring before

you, at such a time as this, another great man, now, alas ! numbered with the dead. I mean the pure, the disinterested, the patriotic John Jay. His character is a brilliant jewel in the sacred treasures of national reputation. Leaving his profession at an early period, yet not before he had singularly distinguished himself in it, from the commencement of the revolution, his whole life, until his final retirement, was a life of public service. A member of the first Congress, he was the author of that political paper which is generally acknowledged to stand first among the incomparable productions of that body ; productions which called forth that decisive strain of commendation from the great Lord Chatham, in which he pronounced them not inferior to the finest productions of the master States of the world. Mr. Jay had been abroad, and had also been long entrusted with the difficult duties of our foreign correspondence at home. He had seen and felt, in the fullest measure, and to the greatest possible extent, the difficulty of conducting our foreign affairs, honorably and usefully, without a stronger and more perfect domestic union. Though not a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution, he was yet present while it was in session, and looked anxiously for its result. By the choice of this

city, he had a seat in the State Convention, and took an active and zealous part for the adoption of the Constitution. On the organization of the new government, he was selected by Washington to be the first Chief Justice of the United States; and surely the high and most responsible duties of that station, could not have been trusted to abler or safer hands. It is the duty, one of equal importance and delicacy, of that tribunal, to decide constitutional questions, arising occasionally, on State Laws. The general learning and ability, and especially the prudence, the mildness, and the firmness of his character, eminently fitted Mr. Jay to be the head of such a Court. When the spotless ermine of the judicial robe fell on JOHN JAY, it touched nothing not as spotless as itself.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

I should do violence to my own feelings, gentlemen, — I think I should offend yours, — if I omitted respectful mention of distinguished names, yet fresh in your recollections. How can I stand here to speak of the Constitution of the United States, of the wisdom of its provisions, of the difficulties attending its adoption, of the evils from which it rescued the country, and of

the prosperity and power to which it has raised it, and yet pay no tribute to those who were highly instrumental in accomplishing the work? While we are here to rejoice, that it yet stands firm and strong; while we congratulate one another that we live under its benign influence, and cherish hopes of its long duration; we cannot forget who they were, that in the day of our national infancy, in the times of despondency and despair, mainly assisted to work out our deliverance. I should feel that I disregarded the strong recollections which the occasion presses upon us, that I was not true to gratitude, nor true to patriotism, nor true to the living or the dead, not true to your feelings or my own, if I should forbear to make mention of ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Coming from the military service of the country, yet a youth, but with knowledge and maturity, even in civil affairs, far beyond his years, he made this City the place of his adoption; and he gave the whole powers of his mind to the contemplation of the weak and distracted condition of the country. Daily increasing in acquaintance and confidence with the people of this City, he saw, what they also saw, the absolute necessity of some closer bond of union for

the States. This was the great object of desire. He never appears to have lost sight of it, but was found in the lead, whenever any thing was to be attempted for its accomplishment. One experiment after another, as is well known, was tried, and all failed. The states were urgently called on to confer such further powers on the old Congress, as would enable it to redeem the public faith, or to adopt, themselves, some general and common principle of commercial regulation. But the States had not agreed, and were not likely to agree. In this posture of affairs, so full of public difficulty and public distress, Commissioners from five or six of the States met, on the request of Virginia, at Annapolis, in September, 1786. The precise object of their appointment, was to take into consideration the trade of the United States ; to examine the relative situations and trade of the several states — and to consider how far a uniform system of commercial regulations was necessary to their common interest and permanent harmony. Mr. Hamilton was one of these Commissioners ; and, I have understood, though I cannot assert the fact, that their Report was drawn by him. His associate from this State was the venerable Judge BENSON, who has lived long, and still lives,

to see the happy results of the counsels which originated in this meeting. Of its members, he and Mr. Madison are, I believe, now the only survivors. These Commissioners recommended, what took place the next year, a General Convention of all the states, to take into serious deliberation the condition of the country, and devise such provisions as should render the Constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union. I need not remind you, that of this Convention Mr. Hamilton was an active and efficient member. The Constitution was framed and submitted to the country. And then another great work was to be undertaken. The Constitution would naturally find, and did find, enemies and opposers. Objections to it were numerous, and powerful, and spirited. They were to be answered—and they were, effectually, answered. The writers of the numbers of the *Federalist*, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Jay, so greatly distinguished themselves in their discussions of the Constitution, that those numbers are generally received as important commentaries on the text, and accurate expositions, in general, of its objects and purposes. Those papers were all written and published in this City. Mr. Hamilton was elect-

ed one of the distinguished delegation from the City, into the State Convention at Poughkeepsie, called to ratify the new Constitution. Its debates are published. Mr. Hamilton appears to have exerted, on this occasion, to the utmost, every power and faculty of his mind.

The whole question was likely to depend on the decision of New York. He felt the full importance of the crisis ; and the reports of his speeches, imperfect as they probably are, are yet lasting monuments to his genius and patriotism. He saw, at last, his hopes fulfilled ; he saw the Constitution adopted, and the government under it established and organized. The discerning eye of Washington immediately called him to that post, which was infinitely the most important in the administration of the new system. He was made Secretary of the Treasury ; and how he fulfilled the duties of such a place, at such a time, the whole country perceived with delight, and the whole world saw with admiration. He smote the rock of the national resources, and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth. He touched the dead corpse of the Public Credit, and it sprung upon its feet. The fabled birth of Minerva, from the brain of Jove, was hardly more sudden or more perfect, than the financial

system of the United States, burst forth from the conceptions of ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

WASHINGTON.

Gentlemen, we are at the point of a century from the birth of Washington ; and what a century it has been ? During its course, the human mind has seemed to proceed with a sort of geometric velocity, accomplishing, for human intelligence and human freedom, more than had been done in fives or tens of centuries preceding. Washington stands at the commencement of a new era, as well as at the head of the new world. A century from the birth of Washington has changed the world. The country of Washington has been the theatre on which a great part of that change has been wrought ; and Washington himself a principal agent by which it has been accomplished. His age and his country are equally full of wonders, and of both he is the chief.

If the prediction of the poet, uttered a few years before his birth, be true ; if, indeed, it be designed by Providence that the grandest exhibition of human character and human affairs shall be made on this theatre of the western world ; if it be true that,

“The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with a day;
Time’s noblest offspring is the last.”

How could this imposing, swelling, final scene, be appropriately opened ; how could its intense interest be adequately sustained, but by the introduction of just such a character as our Washington ?

Washington had attained his manhood when that spark of liberty was struck out in his own country, which has since kindled into a flame, and shot its beams over the earth. In the flow of a century from his birth, the world has changed in science, in arts, in the extent of commerce, in the improvement of navigation, and in all that relates to the civilization of man. But it is the spirit of human freedom, the new elevation of individual man, in his moral, social, and political character, leading the whole long train of other improvements, which has most remarkably distinguished the era. Society, in this century, has not made its progress, like Chinese skill, by a greater acuteness of ingenuity in trifles ; it has not merely lashed itself to an increased speed round the old circles of thought and action, but it has assumed a new character ; it has raised itself from *beneath* governments, to

a participation *in* governments; it has mixed moral and political objects with the daily pursuits of individual men; and, with a freedom and strength before altogether unknown, it has applied to these objects the whole power of the human understanding. It has been the era — in short, when the social principle has triumphed over the feudal principle; when society has maintained its rights against military power, and established, on foundations never hereafter to be shaken, its competency to govern itself.

It was the extraordinary fortune of Washington, that, having been intrusted, in revolutionary times, with the supreme military command, and having fulfilled that trust with equal renown for wisdom and for valor, he should be placed at the head of the first government in which an attempt was to be made, on a large scale, to rear the fabric of social order on the basis of a written constitution, and of a pure representative principle. A government was to be established, without a throne, without an aristocracy — without castes, orders, or privileges; and this government, instead of being a democracy, existing and acting within the walls of a single city, was to be extended over a vast country, of different climates, interests, and habits, and of various sects and

sentiments of the Christian religion. The experiment, certainly, was entirely new. A popular government, of this extent, it was evident, could be framed only by carrying into full effect the principle of representation, or of delegated power; and the world was to see whether society could, by the strength of this principle, maintain its own peace and good government — carry forward its own great interests, and conduct itself to political renown and glory. By the benignity of Providence, this experiment, so full of interest to us and to our posterity for ever, so full of interest, indeed, to the world, in its present generation, and in all its generations to come, was suffered to commence under the guidance of Washington. Destined for this high career, he was fitted for it by wisdom, by virtue, by patriotism, by discretion, by whatever can inspire confidence in man toward man. In entering on the untried scenes, early disappointment, and the premature extinction of all hope of success, would have been certain, had it not been that there did exist throughout the country, in a most extraordinary degree, an unwavering trust in him whose hand held the helm of affairs.

I remarked, gentlemen, that the whole world was and is interested in the result of this experi-

ment. And is it not so? Do we deceive ourselves, or is it true, that at this moment the career which this government is running, is amongst the most attractive objects to the civilized world? Do we deceive ourselves, or is it true, that at this moment that love of liberty, and that understanding of its true principles, which are flying over the whole earth, as on the wings of all the winds, are really and truly of American origin?

GOVERNMENT OF WASHINGTON.

His principle it was to act right, and to trust the people for support; his principle it was not to follow the lead of sinister and selfish ends, and to rely on the little arts of party delusion to obtain public sanction for such a course. Born for his country, and for the world, he did not give up to party what was meant for mankind. The consequence is, that his fame is as durable as his principles, as lasting as truth and virtue themselves. While the hundreds whom party excitement, and temporary circumstances, and casual combinations, have raised into transient notoriety, sink again, like thin bubbles, bursting and dissolving into the great ocean, Washington's fame is like the rock which bounds that ocean, and at whose

feet its billows are destined to break, harmlessly, for ever.

The maxims upon which Washington conducted our foreign relations, were few and simple. The first was an entire and indisputable impartiality towards foreign states. He adhered to this rule of public conduct, against very strong inducements to depart from it, and when the popularity of the moment seemed to favor such a departure. In the next place, he maintained true dignity, and unsullied honor, in all communications with foreign states. It was among the high duties devolved upon him, to introduce our new government into the circle of civilized states and powerful nations. Not arrogant or assuming, with no unbecoming or supercilious bearing, he yet exacted for it, from all others, entire and punctilious respect. He demanded, and he obtained at once, a standing of perfect equality for his country, in the society of nations; nor was there a prince or potentate of his day, whose personal character carried with it, into the intercourse with other states, a greater degree of respect and veneration.

He regarded other nations only as they stood in political relations to us. With their internal affairs, their political parties and dissensions, he

scrupulously abstained from all interference ; and, on the other hand, he spiritedly repelled all such interference by others with us or our concerns. His sternest rebuke—the most indignant measure of his whole administration — was aimed against such an attempted interference. He felt it as an attempt to wound the national honor, and resented it accordingly.

The reiterated admonitions, in his Farewell Address, show his deep fears that foreign influence would insinuate itself into our councils, through the channels of domestic dissensions, and obtain a sympathy with our own temporary parties. Against all such dangers, he most earnestly entreats the country to guard itself. He appeals to its patriotism, to its self-respect, to its own honor, to every consideration connected with its welfare and happiness, to resist, at the very beginning, all tendencies towards such connexion of foreign interests with our own affairs. With a tone of earnestness no where else found, even in his last affectionate farewell advice to his countrymen, he says — “Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake ; since history and experience

prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government."

THE STRUGGLE OF POPULAR POWER.

It cannot be denied that the great political question of this age, is that between absolute and regulated governments. The substance of the controversy is, whether society shall have any part in its own government. Whether the form of government shall be that of limited monarchy, with more or less mixture of hereditary power, or wholly elective, or representative, may perhaps be considered as subordinate. The main controversy is between that absolute rule, which, while it promises to govern well, means nevertheless to govern without control, and that regulated or constitutional system, which restrains sovereign discretion, and asserts that society may claim, as matter of right, some effective power in the establishment of the laws which are to regulate it. The spirit of the times sets with a most powerful current, in favor of these last mentioned opinions. It is opposed, however, whenever and wherever it shows itself, by certain of the great potentates of Europe; and it is opposed on grounds as applicable in one civilized nation as in another, and which would justify such

opposition in relation to the United States, as well as in relation to any other state, or nation, if time and circumstance should render such opposition expedient.

What part it becomes this country to take on a question of this sort, so far as it is called upon to take any part, cannot be doubtful. Our side of this question is settled for us, even without our own volition. Our history, our situation, our character, necessarily decide our position and our course, before we have even time to ask whether we have an option. Our place is on the side of free institutions. From the earliest settlement of these states, their inhabitants were accustomed, in a greater or less degree, to the enjoyment of the powers of self-government; and for the last half century, they have sustained systems of government entirely representative, yielding to themselves the greatest possible prosperity, and not leaving them without distinction and respect among the nations of the earth. This system we are not likely to abandon; and while we shall no farther recommend its adoption to other nations, in whole or in part, than it may recommend itself by its visible influence on our own growth and prosperity, we are, nevertheless, interested, to resist the establishment of doc-

trines which deny the legality of its foundations. We stand as an equal among nations, claiming the full benefit of the established international law ; and it is our duty to oppose, from the earliest to the latest moment, any innovations upon that code, which shall bring into doubt or question our own equal and independent rights.

ORIGIN OF OUR CONSTITUTION.

Sir, whatever we may think of it now, the Constitution had its immediate origin in the conviction of the necessity of this uniformity or identity, in commercial regulations.

The whole history of the country, of every year and every month, from the close of the war of the revolution, to 1789, proves this. Over whatever other interests it was made to extend, and whatever other blessings it now does, or hereafter may, confer on the millions of free citizens who do or shall live under its protection ; even though, in time to come, it should raise a pyramid of power and grandeur, whose apex should look down on the loftiest political structures of other nations and other ages, it will yet be true, that it was itself the child of pressing commercial necessity. Unity and identity of commerce among all the states was its seminal principle. It

had been found absolutely impossible to excite or foster enterprise in trade, under the influence of discordant and jarring state regulations. The country was losing all the advantages of its position. The revolution itself was beginning to be regarded as a doubtful blessing. The ocean before us was a barren waste. No American canvass whitened its bosom — no keels of ours ploughed its waters. The journals of the congress of the confederation show the most constant, unceasing, unwearied, but always unsuccessful appeals to the states and the people, to renovate the system, to infuse into that confederation at once a spirit of union and a spirit of activity, by conferring on congress the power over trade. By nothing but the perception of its indispensable necessity — by nothing but their consciousness of suffering from its want, were the states and the people brought, and brought by slow degrees, to invest this power, in a permanent and competent government.

Sir, hearken to the fervent language of the old congress, in July, 1785, in a letter addressed to the states, prepared by Mr. Monroe, Mr. King, and other great names, now transferred from the lists of living men, to the records which carry down the fame of the distinguished dead. The

proposition before them, the great objects to which they so solicitously endeavored to draw the attention of the states, was this, viz. : that “the United States, in Congress assembled, should have the sole and exclusive right of regulating the trade of the states, as well with foreign nations as with each other.” This, they say, is urged upon the states by every consideration of local, as well as of federal policy ; and they beseech them to agree to it, if they wish to promote the strength of the union, and to connect it by the strongest ties of interest and affection. This was in July, 1785.

In the same spirit, and for the same end, was that most important resolution which was adopted in the House of Delegates of Virginia, on the 21st day of the following January. Sir, I read the resolution entire.

“*Resolved*, That Edmund Randolph, and others, be appointed commissioners, who, or any five of whom, shall meet such commissioners as may be appointed by the other states in the union, at a time and place to be agreed on, to take into consideration the trade of the United States ; to examine the relative situations and trade of the said states ; to consider how far a uniform system in their commercial regulations

may be necessary to their common interest and their permanent harmony, and to report to the several states such an act relative to this great object, as, when unanimously ratified by them, will enable the United States, in Congress assembled, effectually to provide for the same : that the said commissioners shall immediately transmit to the several states copies of the preceding resolution, with a circular letter requesting their concurrence therein, and proposing a time and place for the meeting aforesaid."

Here, sir, let us pause. Let us linger at the waters of this original fountain. Let us contemplate this, the first step, in that series of proceedings, so full of great events to us and to the world. Notwithstanding the embarrassment and distress of the country, the recommendation of the old Congress had not been complied with. Every attempt to bring the state legislatures into any harmony of action, or any pursuit of a common object, had signally and disastrously failed. The exigency of the case called for a new movement ; for a more direct and powerful attempt to bring the good sense and patriotism of the country into action upon the crisis. A solemn assembly was therefore proposed — a general convention of delegates from all the states. And

now, sir, what was the exigency ? What was this crisis ? Look at the resolution itself ; there is not an idea in it but trade. Commerce ! commerce ! is the beginning and end of it. The subject to be considered and examined was “ the relative situation of the trade of the states ; ” and the object to be obtained was the “ establishment of a uniform system in their commercial regulations, as necessary to the common interest and their permanent harmony.” This is all. And, sir, by the adoption of this ever-memorable resolution, the house of Delegates of Virginia, on the 21st day of January, 1786, performed the first act in the train of measures which resulted in that constitution, under the authority of which you now sit in that chair, and I have now the honor of addressing the members of this body.

Mr. President, I am a northern man. I am attached to one of the states of the North, by the ties of birth and parentage, education, and the associations of early life ; and by sincere gratitude for proofs of public confidence early bestowed. I am bound to another Northern state by adoption, by long residence, by all the cords of social and domestic life, and by an attachment and regard, springing from her manifestation of approbation and favor, which grapple me to her with hooks

of steel. And yet, sir, with the same sincerity of respect, the same deep gratitude, the same reverence and hearty good will, with which I would pay a similar tribute to either of these states, do I here acknowledge the Commonwealth of Virginia to be entitled to the honor of commencing the work of establishing this constitution. The honor is hers ; let her enjoy it ; let her forever wear it proudly ; there is not a brighter jewel in the tiara that adorns her brow. Let this resolution stand, illustrating her records, and blazoning her name through all time !

The meeting, sir, proposed by the resolution was holden. It took place, as all know, in Annapolis, in May of the same year ; but it was thinly attended, and its members, very wisely, adopted measures to bring about a fuller and more general convention. Their letter to the states on this occasion is full of instruction. It shows their sense of the unfortunate condition of the country. In their meditations on the subject, they saw the extent to which the commercial power must necessarily extend. The sagacity of New Jersey had led her, in agreeing to the original proposition of Virginia, to enlarge the object of the appointment of commissioners, so as to embrace not only commercial regulations,

but other important matters. This suggestion the commissioners adopted, because they thought, as they inform us, "that the power of regulating trade is of such comprehensive extent, and will enter so far into the general system of the Federal government, that to give it efficacy, and to obviate questions and doubts concerning its precise nature and limits, might require a correspondent adjustment of other parts of the Federal system." Here you see, sir, that other powers, such as are now in the constitution, were expected to branch out of the necessary commercial power; and, therefore, the letter of the commissioners concludes with recommending a general convention, "to take into consideration the *whole situation of the United States*, and to devise such further provisions as should appear necessary to render the constitution of the Federal government adequate to the exigencies of the union."

The result of that convention was the present constitution. And yet, in the midst of all this flood of light, respecting its original objects and purposes, and with all the adequate powers which it confers, we abandon the commerce of the country, we betray its interests, we turn ourselves away from its most crying necessities. Sir,

it will be a fact, stamped in deep and dark lines upon our annals ; it will be a truth, which in all time can never be denied or evaded, that if this constitution shall not, now and hereafter, be so administered as to maintain a uniform system in all matters of trade ; if it shall not protect and regulate the commerce of the country, in all its great interests, in its foreign intercourse, in its domestic intercourse, in its navigation, in its currency, in every thing which fairly belongs to the whole idea of commerce, either as an end, an agent, or an instrument, then that constitution will have failed, utterly failed, to accomplish the precise, distinct, original object, in which it had its being.

In matters of trade, we were no longer to be Georgians, Virginians, Pennsylvanians, or Massachusetts men. We were to have but one commerce, and that the commerce of the United States. There were not to be separate flags, waving over separate commercial systems. There was to be one flag, the *E PLURIBUS UNUM* ; and toward that was to be that rally of united interests and affections, which our fathers had so earnestly invoked.

Mr. President, this unity of commercial regulation is, in my opinion, indispensable to the safety of the union of the states themselves. In

peace, it is its strongest tie. I care not, sir, on what side, or in which of its branches, it may be attacked. Every successful attack upon it, made anywhere, weakens the whole, and renders the next assault easier and more dangerous. Any denial of its just power is an attack upon it. We attack it, most fiercely attack it, whenever we say we will not exercise the powers which it enjoins. If the Court had yielded to the pretensions of respectable states upon the subject of steam navigation, and to the retaliatory proceedings of other states ; if retreat and excuse, and disavowal of power, had been prevailing sentiments then, in what condition, at this moment, let me ask, would the steam navigation of the country be found ? To us, sir, to us, his countrymen, to us, who feel so much admiration for his genius, and so much gratitude for his services, Fulton would have lived almost in vain. State grants and state exclusions would have covered over all our waters.

Sir, it is in the nature of such things, that the first violation, or the first departure from true principles, draws more important violations or departures after it ; and the first surrender of just authority will be followed by others more to be deplored. If commerce be a unit, to break it in

any one part, is to decree its ultimate dismemberment in all. If there be made a first chasm, though it be small, through that the whole wild ocean will pour in, and we may then throw up embankments in vain.

Sir, the spirit of union is particularly liable to temptation and seduction, in moments of peace and prosperity. In war, this spirit is strengthened by a sense of common danger, and by a thousand recollections of ancient efforts and ancient glory in a common cause. In the calms of a long peace, and the absence of all apparent causes of alarm, things near gain an ascendancy over things remote. Local interests and feelings overshadow national sentiments. Our attention, our regard, and our attachment, are every moment solicited to what touches us closest, and we feel less and less the attraction of a distant orb. Such tendencies, we are bound by the true patriotism, and by our love of union, to resist. This is our duty; and the moment, in my judgment, has arrived when that duty is summoned to action. We hear, every day, sentiments and arguments, which would become a meeting of envoys, employed by separate governments, more than they become the common legislature of a united country. Constant appeals are made to local interests, to

geographical distinctions, and to the policy and the pride of particular states. It would sometimes appear that it was, or as if it were, a settled purpose to convince the people that our union is nothing but a jumble of different and discordant interests, which must, ere long, be all returned to their original state of separate existence ; as if, therefore, it was of no great value while it should last, and was not likely to last long. The process of disintegration begins, by urging the fact of different interests.

Sir, is not the end obvious, to which all this leads us ? Who does not see that, if convictions of this kind take possession of the public mind, our union can hereafter be nothing, while it remains but a connexion without harmony ; a bond without affection ; a theatre for the angry contests of local feelings, local objects, and local jealousies ? Even while it continues to exist, in name, it may, by these means, become nothing but the mere form of a united government. My children, and the children of those who sit around me, may meet, perhaps, in this chamber in the next generation ; but if tendencies, now but too obvious, be not checked, they will meet as strangers and aliens. They will feel no sense of common interest or common country : they will che-

rish no common object of patriotic love. If the same Saxon language shall fall from their lips, it may be the chief proof that they belong to the same nation. Its vital principle exhausted and gone, its power of doing good terminated, now productive only of strife and contention, and no longer sustained by a sense of common interest, the union itself must ultimately fall, dishonored and unlamented.

GREECE.

Sir, they have done much. It would be great injustice to compare their achievements with our own. We began our revolution, already possessed of government, and, comparatively, of civil liberty. Our ancestors had, for centuries, been accustomed, in a great measure, to govern themselves. They were well acquainted with popular elections and legislative assemblies, and the general principles and practice of free governments. They had little else to do than to throw off the paramount authority of the parent state. Enough was still left, both of law and of organization, to conduct society in its accustomed course; and to unite men together for a common object. The Greeks, of course, could act with little concert at the beginning; they were unac-

customed to the exercise of power, without experience, with limited knowledge, without aid, and surrounded by nations which, whatever claims the Greeks might seem to have had upon them, have afforded them nothing but discouragement and reproach. They have held out, however, for three campaigns; and that, at least, is something. Constantinople and the northern provinces have sent forth thousands of troops; they have been defeated. Tripoli, and Algiers, and Egypt, have contributed their marine contingents; they have not kept the ocean. Hordes of Tartars have crossed the Bosphorus; — they have died where the Persians died. The powerful monarchies in the neighborhood, have denounced their cause, and admonished them to abandon it, and submit to their fate. They have answered them, that, although two hundred thousand of their countrymen have offered up their lives, there yet remain lives to offer; and that it is the determination of *all*, “yes, of *ALL*,” to persevere until they shall have established their liberty, or, until the power of their oppressors shall have relieved them from the burden of existence.

It may now be asked, perhaps, whether the expression of our own sympathy, and that of the

country, may do them good? I hope it may. It may give them courage and spirit, it may assure them of public regard, teach them that they are not wholly forgotten by the civilized world, and inspire them with constancy in the pursuit of their great end. At any rate, sir, it appears to me, that the measure which I have proposed is due to our own character, and called for by our own duty. When we shall have discharged that duty, we may leave the rest to the disposition of Providence.

THE PROTEST.

Mr. President, I have spoken freely of this Protest, and of the doctrines which it advances; but I have said nothing which I do not believe. On these high questions of Constitutional law, respect for my own character, as well as a solemn and profound sense of duty, restrains me from giving utterance to a single sentiment which does not flow from entire conviction. I feel that I am not wrong. I feel that an inborn and inbred love of Constitutional liberty, and some study of our political institutions, have not, on this occasion, misled me. But I have desired to say nothing that should give pain to the Chief Magistrate, personally. I have not sought to fix ar-

rows in his breast; but I believe him mistaken, altogether mistaken, in the sentiments which he has expressed; and I must concur with others in placing on the records of the Senate, my disapprobation of those sentiments. On a vote, which is to remain so long as any proceeding of the Senate shall last, and on a question which can never cease to be important while the Constitution of the country endures, I have desired to make public my reasons. They will now be known, and I submit them to the judgment of the present and of after times. Sir, the occasion is full of interest. It cannot pass off without leaving strong impressions on the character of public men. A collision has taken place, which I could have most anxiously wished to avoid; but it was not to be shunned. We have not sought this controversy—it has met us, and been forced upon us. In my judgment, the law has been disregarded, and the Constitution transgressed; the fortress of liberty has been assaulted, and circumstances have placed the senate in the breach; and, although we may perish in it, I know we shall not fly from it. But I am fearless of consequences. We shall hold on, sir, and hold out, till the people themselves come to its defence. We shall raise the alarm, and main-

tain the post till they, whose right it shall be to decide whether the senate be a faction, wantonly resisting lawful power, or whether it be opposing, with firmness and patriotism, violations of liberty, and inroads upon the Constitution.

JOHN ADAMS.

There is yet among the living a most distinguished and venerable name — a descendant of the Pilgrims; one who has been attended through life by a great and fortunate genius; a man illustrious by his own great merits, and favored of heaven in the long continuation of his years. The time when the English orator was thus speaking of America, preceded, but by a few days, the actual opening of the revolutionary drama at Lexington. He to whom I have alluded, then at the age of forty, was among the most zealous and able defenders of the violated rights of his country. He seemed already to have filled a full measure of public service, and attained an honorable fame. The moment was full of difficulty and danger, and big with events of immeasurable importance. The country was on the very brink of a civil war, of which no man could foretell the duration or the result. Something more than a courageous hope, or charac-

teristic ardor, would have been necessary to impress the glorious prospect on his belief, if, at that moment, before the sound of the first shock of actual war had reached his ears, some attendant spirit had opened to him the vision of the future; if it had said to him, "the blow is struck, and America is severed from England for ever!" if it had informed him, that he himself, the next annual revolution of the sun, should put his own hand to the great instrument of Independence, and write his name where all nations should behold it, and all time should not efface it; that ere long he himself should maintain the interest, and represent the sovereignty of his new-born country, in the proudest courts of Europe; that he should one day exercise her supreme magistracy; that he should yet live to behold ten millions of fellow-citizens paying him the homage of their deepest gratitude, and kindest affections; that he should see distinguished talent and high public trust resting where his name rested; that he should even see, with his own unclouded eyes, the close of the second century of New England, who had begun life almost with its commencement, and lived through nearly half the whole history of his country; and that, on the morning of this auspicious day, he should be

found in the political councils of his native state, revising, by the light of experience, that system of government, which, forty years before, he had assisted to frame and establish; and great and happy as he should then behold his country, there should be nothing in prospect to cloud the scene, nothing to check the ardor of that confident and patriotic hope, which should glow in his bosom to the end of his long protracted and happy life.

THE SOUTH.

I spoke, sir, of the ordinance of 1787, which prohibited slavery, in all future times, northwest of the Ohio, as a measure of great wisdom and foresight, and one which had been attended with highly beneficial and permanent consequences. I supposed, that on this point, no two gentlemen in the Senate could entertain different opinions. But the simple expression of this sentiment has led the gentleman, not only into a labored defence of slavery in the abstract, and on principle, but, also, into a warm accusation against me, as having attacked the system of domestic slavery now existing in the southern States. For all this, there was not the slightest foundation in any thing said or intimated by me. I did not utter a single word which any ingenu-

ity could torture into an attack on the slavery of the south. I said, only, that it was highly wise and useful, in legislating for the northwestern country, while it was yet a wilderness, to prohibit the introduction of slaves, and added, that I presumed, in the neighboring state of Kentucky, there was no reflecting and intelligent gentleman who would doubt, that if the same prohibition had been extended, at the same early period, over that commonwealth, her strength and population would, at this day, have been far greater than they are. If these opinions be thought doubtful, they are, nevertheless, I trust, neither extraordinary nor disrespectful; — they attack nobody, and menace nobody. And yet, sir, the gentleman's optics have discovered, even in the mere expression of this sentiment, what he calls the very spirit of the Missouri question! He represents me as making an onset on the whole south, and manifesting a spirit which would interfere with and disturb their domestic condition! Sir, this injustice no otherwise surprises me, than as it is done here, and done without the slightest pretence of ground for it. I say it only surprises me as being done here — for I know full well, that it is and has been the settled policy of some persons in the south, for years, to

represent the people of the north as disposed to interfere with them in their own exclusive and peculiar concerns. This is a delicate and sensitive point in southern feeling, and, of late years, it has always been touched, and, generally, with effect, whenever the object has been to unite the whole south against northern men, or northern measures. This feeling, always carefully kept alive, and maintained at too intense a heat to admit discrimination or reflection, is a lever of great power in our political machine. It moves vast bodies, and gives to them one and the same direction. But the feeling is without an adequate cause, and the suspicion which exists, wholly groundless. There is not, and never has been, a disposition in the north, to interfere with these interests of the south. Such interference has never been supposed to be within the power of the government, nor has it been in any way attempted. It has always been regarded as a matter of domestic policy, left with the states themselves, and with which the Federal Government had nothing to do. Certainly, sir, I am, and ever have been, of that opinion. The gentleman, indeed, argues that slavery, in the abstract, is no evil. Most assuredly, I need not say I differ with him altogether, and most widely

on that point. I regard domestic slavery as one of the greatest of evils, both moral and political. But, though it be a malady, and whether it be curable, and if so, by what means — or, on the other hand, whether it be the *vulnus immedicabile* of the social system — I leave it to those whose right and duty it is to inquire and to decide. And this, I believe, sir, is, and uniformly has been, the sentiment of the north. Let us look a little at the history of this matter.

When the present constitution was submitted for the ratification of the people, there were those who imagined that the powers of the government which it proposed to establish, might, perhaps, in some possible mode, be exerted in measures tending to the abolition of slavery. This suggestion would, of course, attract much attention in the southern conventions. In that of Virginia, Governor Randolph said :

“ I hope there is none here who, considering the subject in the calm light of philosophy, will make an objection dishonorable to Virginia ; — that at the moment they are securing the rights of their citizens, an objection is started that there is a spark of hope, that those unfortunate men, now held in bondage, may, by the operation of the general government, be made free.”

At the very first Congress, petitions on the subject were presented, if I mistake not, from different states. The Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery took a lead, and laid before Congress a memorial, praying Congress to promote the abolition, by such powers as it possessed. This memorial was referred, in the House of Representatives, to a select committee, consisting of Mr. Foster, of New Hampshire, Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts, Mr. Huntington, of Connecticut, Mr. Lawrence, of New York, Mr. Sinnickson, of New Jersey, Mr. Hartley, of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Parker, of Virginia; all of them, sir, as you will observe, northern men, but the last. This committee made a report, which was committed to a committee of the whole house, and there considered and discussed on several days; and being amended, although in no material respect, it was made to express three distinct propositions on the subjects of slavery and the slave trade. First, in the words of the constitution, that Congress could not, prior to the year 1808, prohibit the migration or importation of such persons, as any of the states then existing should think proper to admit. Second, that Congress had authority to restrain the citizens of the United States from carrying on

the African slave trade, for the purpose of supplying foreign countries. On this proposition our early laws against those who engage in that traffic are founded. The third proposition, and that which bears on the present question, was expressed in the following terms :

“Resolved, That Congress have no authority to interfere in the emancipation of slaves, or in the treatment of them in any of the States ; it remaining with the several States alone to provide rules and regulations therein, which humanity and true policy may require.”

This resolution received the sanction of the House of Representatives so early as March, 1790. And now, sir, the honorable member will allow me to remind him, that not only were the select committee who reported the resolution, with a single exception, all northern men, but, also, that of the members then composing the House of Representatives, a large majority, I believe nearly two thirds, were northern men also.

The House agreed to insert these resolutions in its journals, and from that day to this it has never been maintained or contended that Congress had any authority to regulate or interfere with the condition of slaves in the several States. No northern gentleman, to my knowledge, has

moved any such question, in either House of Congress.

The fears of the south, whatever fears they might have entertained, were allayed and quieted by this early decision — and so remained, till they were excited afresh, without cause, but for collateral and indirect purposes. When it became necessary, or was thought so, by some political persons, to find an unvarying ground for the exclusion of northern men from confidence and from lead in the affairs of the Republic, then, and not till then, the cry was raised, and the feeling industriously excited, that the influence of northern men in the Public Councils would endanger the relation of master and slave. For myself, I claim no other merit than that this gross and enormous injustice towards the whole north has not wrought upon me to change my opinions, or my political conduct. I hope I am above violating my principles, even under the smart of injury and false imputations. Unjust suspicions and undeserved reproach, whatever pain I may experience from them, will not induce me, I trust, nevertheless, to overstep the limits of constitutional duty, or to encroach on the rights of others. The domestic slavery of the south I leave where I find it — in the hands

of their own governments. It is their affair, not mine.

Nor do I complain of the peculiar effect which the magnitude of that population has had in the distribution of power under this federal government. We know, sir, that the representation of the states in the other house is not equal. We know that great advantage, in that respect, is enjoyed by the slave-holding states ; and we know, too, that the intended equivalent for that advantage, that is to say, the imposition of direct taxes in the same ratio, has become merely nominal ; the habit of the government being almost invariably to collect its revenues from other sources, and in other modes. Nevertheless, I do not complain, nor would I countenance any movement to alter this arrangement of representation. It is the original bargain, the compact — let it stand ; let the advantage of it be fully enjoyed. The Union itself is too full of benefit to be hazarded in propositions for changing its original basis. I go for the Constitution as it is, and for the Union as it is. But I am resolved not to submit, in silence, to accusations, either against myself, individually, or against the north, wholly unfounded and unjust — accusations which impute to us a disposition to evade

the constitutional compact, and to extend the power of the government over the internal laws and domestic condition of the states. All such accusations, wherever and whenever made, all insinuations of the existence of such purposes, I know and feel to be groundless and injurious. And we must confide in southern gentlemen themselves; we must trust to those whose integrity of heart and magnanimity of feeling will lead them to desire to maintain and disseminate truth, and who possess the means of its diffusion with the southern public; we must leave it to them to disabuse that public of its prejudices; but, in the mean time, for my own part, I shall continue to act justly, whether those towards whom justice is exercised, receive it with candor or with contumely."

GOVERNMENT.

Certain it is, that popular constitutional liberty, as we enjoy it, appears, in the present state of the world, as sure and stable a basis for government to rest upon, as any government of enlightened states can find or does find. Certain it is, that in these times of so much popular knowledge, and so much popular activity, those governments which do not admit the people to

partake in their administration, but keep them under and beneath, sit on materials for an explosion, which may take place at any moment, and blow them into a thousand atoms.

THE COUNTRY.

Gentlemen, our country stands, at the present time, on commanding ground. Older nations, with different systems of government, may be somewhat slow to acknowledge all that justly belongs to us. But we may feel, without vanity, that America is doing its part in the great work of improving human affairs. There are two principles, gentlemen, strictly and purely American, which are now likely to overrun the civilized world. Indeed, they seem the necessary result of the progress of civilization and knowledge. These are, first, popular governments, restrained by written constitutions; and, secondly, universal education. Popular governments, and general education, acting and re-acting, mutually producing and re-producing each other, are the mighty agencies which, in our days, appear to be exciting, stimulating, and changing civilized societies. Man, every where, is now found demanding a participation in government, and he will not be refused; and he demands

knowledge as necessary to self-government. On the basis of these two principles, liberty and knowledge, our own American systems rest. Thus far we have not been disappointed in their results. Our existing institutions, raised on these foundations, have conferred on us almost unmixed happiness. Do we hope to better our condition by change? When we shall have nullified the present constitution, what are we to receive in its place? As fathers, do we wish for our children better government or better laws? As members of society, as lovers of our country, is there any thing we can desire for it better than that, as ages and centuries roll over it, it may possess the same invaluable institutions which it now enjoys? For my part, gentlemen, I can only say, that I desire to thank the beneficent Author of all good, for being born *where* I was born, and *when* I was born; that the portion of human existence allotted to me, has been meted out to me in this goodly land, and at this interesting period. I rejoice that I have lived to see so much development of truth, so much progress of liberty, so much diffusion of virtue and happiness. And through good report, and through evil report, it will be my consolation to be the citizen of a republic unequalled in the

annals of the world for the freedom of its institutions, its high prosperity, and the prospects of good which yet lie before it. Our course, gentlemen, is onward, straight onward, and forward. Let us not turn to the right hand or to the left. Our path is marked out for us — clear, plain, bright, distinctly defined, like the milky way across the heavens. If we are true to our country, in our day and generation, and those who come after us shall be true to it also, assuredly we shall elevate her to a pitch of prosperity and happiness, of honor and power, never yet reached by any nation beneath the sun.

LOVE OF LIBERTY.

No American can pass by the fields of Bunker Hill, Monmouth, or Camden, as if they were ordinary spots on the earth's surface. Whoever visits them, feels the sentiment of love of country kindling anew, as if the spirit that belonged to the transactions which have rendered these places distinguished, still hovered round, with power to move and excite all who in future time may approach them.

MORAL EXAMPLE.

But neither of these sources of emotion equals

the power with which great moral examples affect the mind. When sublime virtues cease to be abstractions, when they become embodied in human character, and exemplified in human conduct, we should be false to our own nature if we did not indulge in the spontaneous effusions of our gratitude and our admiration. A true lover of the virtue of patriotism, delights to contemplate its purest models; and that love of country may be well suspected, which affects to soar so high into the regions of sentiment, as to be lost and absorbed in the abstract feeling, and becomes too elevated or too refined to glow with fervor in the commendation or the love of individual benefactors. All this is unnatural. It is as if one should be so enthusiastic a lover of poetry, as to care nothing for Homer or Milton; so passionately attached to eloquence, as to be indifferent to Tully and Chatham; or such a devotee to the arts, in such an ecstasy with the elements of beauty, proportion, and expression, as to regard the master-pieces of Raphael and Michael Angelo with coldness and contempt. We may be assured, gentlemen, that he who really loves the thing itself, really loves its finest exhibitions. A true friend of his country loves her friends and benefactors, and thinks it no de-

gradation to commend and commemorate them. The voluntary out-pouring of the public feeling, made to day from the north to the south, and from the east to the west, proves this sentiment to be both just and natural. In the cities and in the villages, in the public temples and in the family circles, among all ages and sexes, gladdened voices to day bespeak grateful hearts, and a freshened recollection of the virtues of the Father of his country. And it will be so in all time to come, so long as public virtue is itself an object of regard. The ingenuous youth of America will hold up to themselves the bright model of Washington's example, and study to be what they behold. They will contemplate his character till all its virtues spread out and display themselves to their delighted vision; as the earliest astronomers, the shepherds on the plains of Babylon, gazed at the stars till they saw them form in clusters and constellations, overpowering, at length, the eyes of the beholders with the united blaze of a thousand lights.

PROGRESS OF FREEDOM.

Gentlemen, the spirit of human liberty and of free government, nurtured and grown into strength and beauty in America, has stretched

its course into the midst of the nations. Like an emanation from heaven, it has gone forth, and it will not return void. It must change, it is fast changing, the face of the earth. Our great, our high duty, is to show, by our example, that this spirit is a spirit of health as well as a spirit of power; that its benignity is as great as its strength; that its efficiency to secure individual rights, social relations, and moral order, is equal to the irresistible force with which it prostrates principalities and powers. The world, at this moment, is regarding us with a willing, but something of a fearful admiration. Its deep and awful anxiety is to learn, whether free states may be stable as well as free; whether popular power may be trusted as well as feared; in short, whether wise, regular, and virtuous self-government, is a vision for the contemplation of theorists, or a truth, established, illustrated, and brought into practice, in the country of Washington.

Gentlemen, for the earth which we inhabit, and the whole circle of the sun, for all the unborn races of mankind, we seem to hold in our hands, for their weal or wo, the fate of this experiment. If we fail, who shall venture the repetition? If our example shall prove to be one, not of encouragement, but terror, not fit to be

imitated, but fit to be shunned — where else shall the world look for free models ? If this great *Western Sun* be struck out of the firmament, at what other fountain shall the lamp of liberty hereafter be lighted ? What other orb shall emit a ray to glimmer, even, on the darkness of the world ?

PARTY FEELINGS.

' Among other admonitions, Washington left us, in his last communication to his country, an exhortation against the excesses of party spirit. A fire not to be quenched, he yet conjures us not to fan or feed the flame. Undoubtedly, gentlemen, it is the greatest danger of our system, and of our time. Undoubtedly, if that system should be overthrown, it will be the work of excessive party spirit, acting *on* the government, which is dangerous enough, or acting *in* the government, which is a thousand times more dangerous ; for government then becomes nothing but organized party, and in the strange vicissitudes of human affairs, it may come at last, perhaps, to exhibit the singular paradox, of government itself being in opposition to its own powers, at war with the very elements of its own existence. Such cases are hopeless. As man may be protected against

murder, but cannot be guarded against suicide, so government may be shielded from the assaults of external foes, but nothing can save it when it chooses to lay violent hand on itself.

UNION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

At least, sir, let the star of Massachusetts be the last which shall be seen to fall from heaven, and to plunge into the utter darkness of disunion. Let her shrink back — let her hold others back, if she can ; at any rate, let her keep herself back from this gulf, full, at once, of fire and blackness : yes, sir, as far as human foresight can scan, or human imagination fathom, full of the fire and the blood of civil war, and of the thick darkness of general political disgrace, ignominy, and ruin. Though the worst may happen that can happen, and though she may not be able to prevent the catastrophe, yet let her maintain her own integrity, her own high honor, her own unwavering fidelity, so that with respect and decency, though with a broken and a bleeding heart, she may pay the last tribute to a glorious, departed, free constitution.

THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE.

The hours of this day are rapidly flying, and this occasion will soon be passed. Neither we nor our children can expect to behold its return. They are in the distant regions of futurity; they exist only in the all creating power of God, who shall stand here, a hundred years hence, to trace through us their descent from the pilgrims, and to survey, as we have surveyed, the progress of their country, during the lapse of a century. We would anticipate their concurrence with us in our sentiments of deep regard for our common ancestors. We would anticipate and partake of the pleasure with which they will then recount the steps of New England's advancement. On the morning of that day, although it will not disturb us in our repose, the voice of acclamation and gratitude, commencing on the Rock of Plymouth, shall be transmitted through millions of the sons of the pilgrims, till it lose itself in the murmurs of the Pacific seas.

We would leave, for the consideration of those who shall then occupy our places, some proof that we hold the blessings transmitted from our fathers in just estimation; some proof of our attachment to the cause of good government, and

of civil and religious liberty ; some proof of a sincere and ardent desire to promote every thing which may enlarge the understandings and improve the hearts of men. And when, from the long distance of an hundred years, they shall look back upon us, they shall know, at least, that we possessed affections, which, running backward, and warming with gratitude for what our ancestors have done for our happiness, run forward also to our posterity, and meet them with cordial salutation, ere yet they have arrived on the shore of being. Advance, then, ye future generations ! We would hail you, as you rise in your succession to fill the places which we now fill, and to taste the blessings of existence, where we are passing and soon shall have passed, over our own human duration. We bid you welcome to this pleasant land of the fathers. We bid you welcome to the healthful skies and the verdant fields of New England. We greet your accession to the great inheritance, which we have enjoyed. We welcome you to the blessings of good government, and religious liberty. We welcome you to the treasures of science, and the delights of learning. We welcome you to the transcendent sweets of domestic life, to the happiness of kindred, and parents, and children. We welcome

you to the immeasurable blessing of rational existence — the immortal hope of christianity, and the light of everlasting truth !

DUTY OF REPRESENTATIVES.

We have been taught to regard a representative of the people as a sentinel on the watch-tower of liberty. Is he to be blind, though visible danger approaches ? Is he to be deaf, though sounds of peril fill the air ? Is he to be dumb, while a thousand duties impel him to raise the cry of alarm ? Is he not, rather, to catch the lowest whisper which breathes intention or purpose of encroachment on the public liberties, and to give his voice breath and utterance at the first appearance of danger ? Is not his eye to traverse the whole horizon, with the keen and eager vision of an unhooded hawk, detecting, through all disguises, every enemy advancing, in any form, towards the citadel which he guards ? Sir, this watchfulness for public liberty, this duty of foreseeing danger and proclaiming it, this promptitude and boldness in resisting attacks on the constitution from any quarter, this defence of established landmarks, this fearless resistance of whatever would transcend or remove them, — all belong to the representative character, are inter-

woven with its very nature, and of which it cannot be deprived, without converting an active, intelligent, faithful agent of the people, into an unresisting and passive instrument of power. A representative body which gives up these rights and duties, gives itself up. It is a representative body no longer. It has broken the tie between itself and its constituents, and henceforth is fit only to be regarded as an inert, self-sacrificed mass, from which all appropriate principle of vitality has departed forever.

DUTY OF THE SENATE.

Mr. President, I have spoken freely of this protest, and of the doctrines which it advances ; but I have said nothing which I do not believe. On these high questions of constitutional law, respect for my own character, as well as a solemn and profound sense of duty, restrains me from giving utterance to a single sentiment which does not flow from entire conviction. I feel that I am not wrong. I feel that an inborn^r and inbred love of constitutional liberty, and some study of our political institutions, have not, on this occasion, misled me. But I have desired to say nothing that should give pain to the chief magistrate personally. I have not sought to fix arrows

in his breast ; but I believe him mistaken, altogether mistaken, in the sentiments which he has expressed ; and I must concur with others in placing on the records of the Senate, my disapprobation of those sentiments. On a vote, which is to remain so long as any proceeding of the Senate shall last, and on a question which can never cease to be important while the constitution of the country endures, I have desired to make public my reasons. They will now be known, and I submit them to the judgment of the present and of after times. Sir, the occasion is full of interest. It cannot pass off without leaving strong impressions on the character of public men. A collision has taken place, which I could have most anxiously wished to avoid ; it was not to be shunned. We have not sought this controversy ; it has met us, and been forced upon us. In my judgment, the law has been disregarded, and the constitution transgressed ; the fortress of liberty has been assaulted, and circumstances have placed the Senate in the breach ; and, although we may perish in it, I know we shall not fly from it. But I am fearless of consequences. We shall hold on, sir, and hold out, till the people themselves come to its defence. We shall raise the alarm, and maintain the post, till they,

whose right it is, shall decide whether the Senate be a faction, wantonly resisting lawful power, or whether it be opposing, with firmness and patriotism, violations of liberty and inroads upon the constitution.

CITY OF NEW YORK.

Gentlemen, as connected with the constitution, you have also local recollections which must bind it still closer to your attachment and affection. It commenced its being, and its blessings, here. It was in this city, in the midst of friends, anxious, hopeful, and devoted, that the new government started in its course. To us, gentlemen, who are younger, it has come down by tradition; but some around me are old enough to have witnessed, and did witness, the interesting scene of the first inauguration. They remember what voices of gratified patriotism, what shouts of enthusiastic hope, what acclamations, rent the air — how many eyes were suffused with tears of joy — how cordially each man pressed the hand of him who was next to him, when, standing in the open air, in the centre of the city, in the view of assembled thousands, the first President was heard solemnly to pronounce the words of his official oath, repeating them from the lips of Chancellor Li-

VINGSTON. You then thought, gentlemen, that the great work of the revolution was accomplished. You then felt that you had a government — that the United States were then, indeed, united. Every benignant star seemed to shed its selectest influence on that auspicious hour. Here were heroes of the revolution ; here were sages of the convention ; here were minds, disciplined and schooled in all the various fortunes of the country, acting now in several relations, but all co-operating to the same great end, the successful administration of the new and untried constitution. And he — how shall I speak of him ? — he was at the head, who was already first in war, — who was already first in the hearts of his countrymen, — and who was now shown also, by the unanimous suffrage of the country, to be first in peace.

Gentlemen, how gloriously have the hopes then indulged been fulfilled ! Whose expectation was then so sanguine — I may almost ask, whose imagination then so extravagant — as to run forward, and contemplate as probable, the one half of what has been accomplished in forty years ? Who among you can go back to 1789, and see what this city, and this country, too, then were — and then, beholding what they now

are, can be ready to consent that the Constitution of the United States shall be weakened, *nullified*, or dishonored ?

MADISON.

Gentlemen, before I leave these pleasant recollections, I feel it an irresistible impulse of duty to pay a tribute of respect to another distinguished person, not, indeed, a fellow-citizen of your own, but associated with those I have already mentioned, in important labors, and an early and indefatigable friend and advocate in the great cause of the Constitution. Gentlemen, I refer to Mr. MADISON. I am aware, gentlemen, that a tribute of regard from me to him is of little importance ; but if it shall receive your approbation and sanction, it will become of value. Mr. Madison, thanks to a kind Providence, is yet among the living, and there is, certainly, no other individual living to whom the country is so much indebted for the blessings of the Constitution. He was one of the Commissioners at Annapolis in 1786, at the meeting of which I have already spoken ; a meeting which, to the great credit of Virginia, had its origin in a proceeding of that state. He was a member of the convention of 1789, and of that of Virginia, the follow-

ing year. He was thus intimately acquainted with the whole progress of the formation of the Constitution, from its very first step to its final adoption. If ever man had the means of understanding a written instrument, Mr. Madison has the means of understanding the Constitution. If it be possible to know what was designed by it, he can tell us. It was in this city that, in conjunction with Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Jay, he wrote the numbers of the *Federalist*; and it was in this city that he commenced his brilliant career, under the new constitution, having been elected into the House of Representatives of the first congress. The recorded votes and debates of those times show his active and efficient agency in every important measure of that congress. The necessary organization of the government, the arrangement of the departments, and, especially, the paramount subject of revenue, engaged his attention and shared his labors.

PERSECUTION OF THE PILGRIMS.

It is certain, that although many of them were Republicans in principle, we have no evidence that our New England ancestors would have emigrated, as they did, from their own native country, become wanderers in Europe, and final-

ly undertaken the establishment of a colony here, merely from their dislike of the political systems of Europe. They fled not so much from the civil government, as from the Hierarchy, and the laws which enforced conformity to the Church Establishment. Mr. Robinson had left England as early as sixteen hundred and eight, on account of the persecutions for nonconformity, and had retired to Holland. He left England, from no disappointed ambition in affairs of state, from no regrets at the want of preferment in the church, nor from any motive of distinction or of gain. Uniformity in matters of religion was pressed with such extreme rigor, that a voluntary exile seemed the most eligible mode of escaping from the penalties of noncompliance. The accession of Elizabeth had, it is true, quenched the fires of Smithfield, and put an end to the easy acquisition of the crown of martyrdom. Her long reign had established the Reformation, but toleration was a virtue beyond her conception, and beyond the age. She left no example of it to her successor; and he was not of a character which rendered it probable that a sentiment either so wise or so liberal should originate with him. At the present period it seems incredible, that the learned, accomplished, unassuming, and

inoffensive Robinson, should neither be tolerated in his own peaceful mode of worship in his own country, nor suffered quietly to depart from it. Yet such was the fact. He left his country by stealth, that he might elsewhere enjoy those rights which ought to belong to men in all countries. The embarkation of the Pilgrims for Holland is deeply interesting, from its circumstances, and also as it marks the character of the times, independently of its connexion with names now incorporated with the history of empire. The embarkation was intended to be in the night, that it might escape the notice of the officers of government. Great pains had been taken to secure boats, which should come undiscovered to the shore, and receive the fugitives; and frequent disappointments had been experienced in this respect. At length the appointed time came, bringing with it unusual severity of cold and rain. An unfrequented and barren heath, on the shores of Lincolnshire, was the selected spot, where the feet of the Pilgrims were to tread, for the last time, the land of their fathers.

The vessel which was to receive them, did not come until the next day, and in the meantime the little band was collected, and men and

women and children and baggage were crowded together, in melancholy and distressed confusion. The sea was rough, and the women and children already sick, from their passage down the river to the place of embarkation. At length the wished for boat silently and fearfully approaches the shore, and men and women and children, shaking with fear and with cold, as many as the small vessel could bear, venture off on a dangerous sea. Immediately the advance of horses is heard from behind, armed men appear, and those not yet embarked are seized, and taken into custody. In the hurry of the moment, there had been no regard to the keeping together of families, in the first embarkation, and on account of the appearance of the horsemen, the boat never returned for the residue. Those who had got away, and those who had not, were in equal distress. A storm of great violence, and long duration, arose at sea, which not only protracted the voyage, rendered distressing by the want of all those accommodations which the interruption of the embarkation had occasioned, but also forced the vessel out of her course, and menaced immediate shipwreck; while those on shore, when they were dismissed from the custody of the officers of justice, having no longer homes

or houses to retire to, and their friends and protectors being already gone, became objects of necessary charity, as well as of deep commiseration.

NEW ENGLAND.

It cannot have escaped the notice of any gentleman present, that in the course of the controversy, pains have been taken to affect the character and the success of the present chief magistrate, by exciting odium towards that part of the country in which he was born and to which he belongs. Sneers, contumely, reproach, every thing that gentlemen could say, and many things which gentlemen could not say, have been uttered against New England. I am sure, sir, every true son of New England must receive such things, when they come from sources which ought to be considered respectable, with a feeling of just indignation; and when proceeding from elsewhere, with contempt. If there be one among ourselves, who can be induced, by any motives, to join in this cry against New England, he disgraces the New England mother who bore him, the New England father who bred and nurtured him, and the New England atmosphere, which first supplied respiration to

those lungs now so unworthily employed in uttering calumnies against his country. Persons, not known till yesterday, and having little chance of being remembered beyond to-morrow, have affected to draw a distinction between the Patriot States and the States of New England; assigning the last to the present President, and the rest to his rival. I do not wonder, sir, at the indignation and scorn which I perceive the recital of this injustice produces here. Nothing else was to be expected. Faneuil Hall is not a place where one is expected to hear with indifference that New England is not to be counted among the Patriot States. The Patriot States? What State was it, sir, that was patriotic when patriotism cost something? Where, but in New England, did the great drama of the revolution open? Where, but on the soil of Massachusetts, was the first blood poured out, in the cause of Liberty and Independence? Where, sooner than here, where earlier than within the walls which now surround us, was patriotism found, when to be patriotic was to endanger houses and homes, and wives and children, and to be ready also to pay for the reputation of patriotism by the sacrifice of blood and of life?

Not farther to refer to her revolutionary me-

rits, it may be truly said that New England did her part, and more than her part, in the establishment of the present government, and in giving effect to the measures and the policy of the first President. Where, sir, did the measures of Washington find the most active friends, and the firmest support? Where are the general principles of his policy most widely spread, and most deeply seated? If, in subsequent periods, different opinions have been held, by different portions of her people, New England has, nevertheless, been always obedient to the laws, even when she most severely felt their pressure, and most conscientiously doubted or disbelieved their propriety. Every great and permanent institution of the country, intended for defence or for improvement, has met her support. And if we look to recent measures, on subjects highly interesting to the community, and especially some portions of it, we see proofs of the same steady and liberal policy. It may be said, with entire truth, and it ought to be said, and ought to be known, that no one measure for internal improvement has been carried through Congress, or could have been carried, but by the aid of New England votes. It is for those most deeply interested in subjects of that sort, to consider

in season, how far the continuance of the same aid is necessary for the further prosecution of the same objects. From the interference of the general government in making roads and canals, New England has as little to hope or expect as any part of the country. She has hitherto supported them, upon principle, and from a sincere disposition to extend the blessings and the beneficence of the government. And, sir, I confidently believe, that those most concerned in the success of these measures, feel towards her respect and friendship. They feel that she has acted fairly and liberally, wholly uninfluenced by selfish or sinister motives. Those, therefore, who have seen, or thought they saw, an object to be attained by exciting dislike and odium towards New England, are not likely to find quite so favorable an audience as they have expected. It will not go for quite so much as wished, to the disadvantage of the President, that he is a native of Massachusetts. Nothing is wanting, but that we, ourselves, should entertain a proper feeling on this subject, and act with a just regard to our own rights and our own duties. If I could collect around me the whole population of New England, or if I could cause my voice to be heard over all her green hills, or along

every one of her pleasant streams, in the exercise of true filial affection, I would say to her, in the language of the great master of the maxims of life and conduct,

“ This above all, — To thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.”

THE GREEKS.

As little reason is there for fearing its consequences upon the conduct of the allied powers. They may, very naturally, dislike our sentiments upon the subject of the Greek revolution ; but what those sentiments are, they will much more explicitly learn in the President's message, than in this resolution. They might, indeed, prefer that we should express no dissent upon the doctrines which they have avowed, and the application which they have made of those doctrines to the case of Greece. But I trust we are not disposed to leave them in any doubt as to our sentiments upon these important subjects. They have expressed their opinions, and do not call that expression of opinion, *an interference* ; in which respect they are right, as the expression of opinion, in such cases, is not such an *interference* as would justify the Greeks in considering the

powers as at war with them. For the same reason, any expression which we may make, of different principles and different sympathies, is no *interference*. No one would call the President's message an *interference*; and yet it is much stronger, in that respect, than this resolution. If either of them could be construed to be an *interference*, no doubt it would be improper, at least it would be so according to my view of the subject; for the very thing which I have attempted to resist in the course of these observations, is the right of foreign interference. But neither the message, nor the resolution, has that character. There is not a power in Europe that can suppose, that, in expressing our opinions on this occasion, we are governed by any desire of aggrandizing ourselves, or of injuring others. We do no more than to maintain those established principles, in which we have an interest in common with other nations, and to resist the introduction of new principles and new rules, calculated to destroy the relative independence of states, and particularly hostile to the whole fabric of our own government.

I close, then, sir, with repeating, that the object of this resolution is, to avail ourselves of the interesting occasion of the Greek revolution, to

make our protest against the doctrines of the allied powers ; both as they are laid down in principle, and as they are applied in practice.

I think it right too, sir, not to be unseasonable in the expression of our regard, and, as far as that goes, in a ministration of our consolation, to a long oppressed and now struggling people. I am not of those who would in the hour of utmost peril, withhold such encouragement as might be properly and lawfully given, and when the crisis should be past, overwhelm the rescued sufferer with kindness and caresses. The Greeks address the civilized world with a pathos not easy to be resisted. They invoke our favor by more moving considerations than can well belong to the condition of any other people. They stretch out their arms to the christian communities of the earth, beseeching them, by a generous recollection of their ancestors, by the consideration of their own desolated and ruined cities and villages, by their wives and children, sold into an accursed slavery, by their own blood, which they seem willing to pour out like water, by the common faith, and in the name, which unites all christians, that they would extend to them, at least some token of compassionate regard.

IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT.

You ask, in the next place, what I think of imprisonment for debt in any case where there is no evidence of fraud. Certainly I am of opinion that there should be no imprisonment for debt, where it appears that no fraud has been practised, or intended, either in contracting the debt, or in omitting to pay it. But, then, it seems to me, that, when a man does not fulfil a lawful promise, he ought to show his inability, and to show also that his own conduct has been fair and honest. He ought not to be allowed merely *to say* he cannot pay, and then to call on the creditor to *prove* that his inability is pretended or fraudulent. He ought to show why he does not and cannot fulfil his contract, and to give reasonable evidence that he has not acted fraudulently; and, this being done, his person ought to be held no longer. In the first place, the creditor is entitled to the oath of his debtor, and, in the next place, to satisfactory explanation of any suspicious circumstances.

There are two sorts of fraud, either of which, when proved, ought to prevent a liberation of the person, viz.: fraud in contracting the debt, and fraud in concealing, or making way with, the

means of payment. And the usual provisions of the bankrupt act ought to be added, that no one should be discharged, who is proved to have lost money in any species of gaming ; and I should include, in this class, *all adventurers in lotteries*. Having tendered his own oath, and made just explanation of any circumstances of suspicion, if there be such, and not having lost money by gaming, the debtor ought to be discharged at once ; which answers another of your questions ; for the detention of thirty days, before the oath can be taken, appears to me wholly useless.

You are pleased to ask whether, in my judgment, christians can, with a good conscience, imprison, either other christians, or infidels. He would be very little of a christian, I think, who should make a difference, in such a case, and be willing to use a degree of severity towards Jew or Greek, which he would not use towards one of his own faith. Whether conscientious men can imprison any body for debt, whom they do not believe dishonest or fraudulent, is a question which every man, while the law allows such imprisonment, must decide for himself. In answer to your inquiry, whether I have found it necessary to use such coercion, in regard to debts of my own, I have to say, that I never imprisoned

any man for my own debt, under any circumstances ; nor have I, in five and twenty years' professional practice, ever recommended it to others, except in cases where there was manifest proof, or violent and unexplained suspicion, of intentional fraud.

IMPORTANCE OF THE UNION.

But it is a subject of which my heart is full, and I have not been willing to suppress the utterance of its spontaneous sentiments. I cannot even now persuade myself to relinquish it, without expressing, once more, my deep conviction, that since it respects nothing less than the Union of the States, it is of most vital and essential importance to the public happiness. I profess, sir, in my career hitherto, to have kept steadily in view the prosperity and honor of the whole country, and the preservation of our federal Union. It is to that Union we owe our safety at home, and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that Union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country. That Union we reached only by the discipline of our virtues in the severe school of adversity. It had its origin in the necessities of disordered finance, prostrate commerce, and

ruined credit. Under its benign influences, these great interests immediately awoke, as from the dead, and sprang forth with newness of life. Every year of its duration has teemed with fresh proofs of its utility and its blessings; and, although our territory has stretched out wider and wider, and our population farther and farther, they have not outrun its protection or its benefits. It has been to us all a copious fountain of national, social, and personal happiness. I have not allowed myself sir, to look beyond the Union, to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty, when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion, to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counsellor in the affairs of this government, whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering, not how the Union should be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it shall be broken up and destroyed. While the Union lasts, we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate

the veil. God grant that in my day, at least, that curtain may not rise. God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies beyond. When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, *the* sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious union; on states dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced; its armies and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured — bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as, *What is all this worth?* nor those other words of delusion and folly, *Liberty first, and Union afterwards*; but every where spread all over, in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart, **LIBERTY AND UNION, NOW AND FOR EVER, ONE AND INSEPARABLE.**

THE END.

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